On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, 634
it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works 173
for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy. 643

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, 643
Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in 644
Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth 361
and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the 643
twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of 175
the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places 644
where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of 342
such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could
be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became 644
sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, 342
and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this 758
house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island 643
of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, 175
nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as 484
fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa 643
where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. 648
He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and 175
troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga 484
before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand [584]
of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known [721]
to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La- 535
billardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate chil- 643
dren that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, mar- [173]
ried Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the person of the Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who entertained Cook. Maealiuaki's son Mulikihaamea also held the two offices, but apparently not simultaneously. 643

The relative powers of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga at the end of the eighteenth century are well set forth by Wilson (65, p. 384): 175 643

> At Tongataboo an oligarchy seems to prevail, at the head of which is a monarch of the Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] race, to whom all pay homage; yet another person, under the title of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], has the chief power and authority, commanding the army by sea and land: whether this office be hereditary or elective is not ascertained. Toogahôwe [Tukuaho], though not the eldest son, on the death of Tibo Moomôoe [Mumui], assumed the government; his acknowledged warlike character probably removed every competitor. Besides these, other chiefs seem possessed of great power. . . . Tongataboo resembles most the government of Japan, where the sacred majesty is a sort of state prisoner to the captain-general; but at the Friendly Islands Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] has great authority, though Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu] seems as superior in command as he acknowledges himself inferior in dignity.

In another account Wilson says (66, pp. liii, lv):

> Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafâihe succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenou Toogahôue [Tukuaho], the present commander in chief, who is said to be nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Tôogahoue has waged with success. . . .
>
> The direction in which it [the Tongan archipelago] chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign [Tui Tonga] or the commander in chief [Tui Kanokupolu]. [484]

With Mulikihaamea's death, 1799, the office of Tui Haa Takalaua became permanently vacant. The Tui Kanokupolu assumed the duties and evidently saw to it that no successor was appointed. It seems obvious, however, that the Tui Haa Takalaua had declined in power even more rapidly than the Tui Tonga and so fell an easy prey to the grasping Tui Kanokupolu. The similarity of functions of the two offices made the absorption the easier. Both largely handled the temporal and military affairs of the kingdom. The elimination of the Tui Haa Takalaua was a big step toward the ultimate goal of the Tui Kanokupolu, the kingship. 643

No small amount of the prestige of the Tui Kanokupolu's office was due to wise matrimonial alliances. The elder daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was usually espoused by the Tui Tonga as his chief wife and mother of the next Tui Tonga. 643 581

A notable marriage was that of Atamataila (the second Tui Kanokupolu) to the Tamaha Tuimala, the most exalted personage in the kingdom. Some generations later Tupoulahisii (the tenth Tui Kanokupolu) married the Tamaha Latufuipeka.

Tongan poetry teems with allusions and metaphors which make translation exceedingly difficult. In publishing the ancient poems it is a modern Tongan custom to publish also explanatory notes, as the poetry, because of its figures of speech, is beyond the comprehension of the average modern Tongan. 538

That the bards of Tonga traveled to the extent of those of Europe in the days of knighthood is unlikely, because of the geographical limitations. They must, however, have spent considerable time in contemplating the beauties of nature. [484]

An interesting feature present in a number of the poems, particularly those by Falepapalangi and Mamaeaepoto (16, p. 65), is the competition in which poets engaged, each trying to outdo the other and to win the approval of the audience. For example, Falepapalangi calls upon Mamaeaepoto, his opponent, to compose a chant,

538
539

To be bitter as if it were kava,
To swim as if it were in the ocean,
To fade as if it were a rainbow,
To go about crying as if a *katafa* bird,
Or to cause a gardenia tree to flower, and
To cause me to eat with my back turned, ashamed.

The following translation of the prelude to the poem called "The Harangue About Mumui" (16, p. 98) gives an excellent idea of the expressiveness of Tongan prose. The poet, while complaining about his own punishment, voices the difficulties that Mumui is experiencing in political opposition. Reference to Tongatabu as a land of women may be to Tupoumoheofo, the woman who set herself up as Tui Kanokupolu when Mumui was the rightful heir.

It was well that (the people of) Tongatabu occupied themselves with talking about me, but you listen while I explain. Vaea Tangitau, the Tui Haa Takalaua, was the superior ruler, Fakatavuki was the ruler (*hau*) at Haatafu, and Loau was Tui Haamea. When Fotofili prepared for his voyage, he left me head ruler in Tonga. It is well that you have taken up weapons so soon to fight me, yet you say it is done to guard the ruler. Why this land does not know my strength. [Mumui represented as speaking.]

Uisoukesouke (an expression of surprise), how many more bands of warriors? And if it were the troops from Haamea, or Utulau, or Matakehe, I would not remark upon it, because they are strong. So with Pelehake, and he sides with Mumui; because, it is said, they wish to be on equality with their chief. [The poet speaking.]

Oh! the cheats, the chief takes up arms so as to kill me, I, who am his superior. That is the truth of it. All right! I will go; I will be foolish-minded and go on a voyage. Then bring those two strong ones, Muli and Maumau. Build them a mound for pigeon catching, and let them take by force your fish. Then you will cry to me for war. [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you, but I will be weak. What is it? Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might 276 574
differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is desig- 565
nated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little 276
raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a 574
piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the 415
Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards
the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava
circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*,
because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards
the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kano- 276
kupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches 574
away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In count- 576
ing baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first
and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui
Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava 276
circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom pre- 574
sented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal 264 [178]
nephews or grandchildren). [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a 276
distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must 574
direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three 484
mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motua- 643 [302]
puaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present 276
Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said 574
to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the 576
Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, [681]
> "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the [622]
> food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded [264]
> into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the
> younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly belonging 622
to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and
Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospitality
to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations
for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage
pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799,
a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from
a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a [764]
funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu
was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be
forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643 648 484

> When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered 431
> presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When
> they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased
> with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the
> Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
> Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
> "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island, 423
> and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 173
> replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai."
>
> Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied when this was done.
>
> Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
> Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness
> that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date
> and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The
> Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present
> Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the
> abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Mafana 423
in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 428 173

Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was 423
the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured 428
articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister
(*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both
sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes
the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and [764]
ngafingafi mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called
koloa kekekele.

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communica- 643
tion easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) 484
says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the [132]
"sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with
the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the
local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same
scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more
frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of
the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs 643
they were assembled in what is called a *fono,* to hear orders from the chiefs. 642
Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to 565
do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. 622
At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; common- [641]
ers could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice [624]
in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, [624]
though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's
orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a [171]
Samoan *fono,* which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering.

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an inde- 622
pendent *fono* so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably 621
consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject 643 634
concerning the whole island, as for instance, war.

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss 622
arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meet- 624
ing of this nature was not a *fono.*

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was 466
given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system

[Ata Island]

> bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which 166
> is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant 173
> island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed 266
> to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon
> the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party [501]
> of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern 128
Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the 103
title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is
the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, [773]
expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side 133
of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one 504 487
town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was 361
divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama 173
(16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man 166
named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter 484
named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island
as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to 173
two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island 166
when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures 484
upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the prin- 609
cipal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

[Ata Island]

were but seven aborigines left when Tapuosi arrived and they were all men. 173
Of the total of five Ata informants that I interviewed three had heard of 166
the aborigines, a fourth seemed extremely hazy on the subject, and although 484
he assented when I finally made the question leading. The fifth informant 609
denied all knowledge of pre-Tongan aborigines on Ata. Here is Tupouata's account of the aborigines and their annihilation by Motuapuaka:

> When Motuapuaka and Tapuosi landed on the beach they saw at once the aborigines who were very tall people, "their thigh bones being the length of an ordinary man." Upon landing the elopers made straight for the people. The aborigines had no fire but appeared to eat their food raw, the principal diet being the fruit of the pandanus and shell fish. The two lovers arrived in the morning and sat on the beach watching the Ata islanders play a game called la'ula'ulo. This game was played by pinching the skin of the back of the hands. Two people played and placed the hands one above another alternately. The Ata people were exceedingly rough in this game, pinching very hard, biting one another, and "even eating one another." Tapuosi was quite frightened and told Motuapuaka that she was afraid of the savages. Motuapuaka took a stick and beat the aborigines who could not fight, wrestle, or throw missiles. He drove them into a cave. Then he pulled down their huts of grass and piled the grass in front of the cave. He set fire to it and proceeded to suffocate the aborigines. For a day and a night Motuapuaka kept the fire burning. He heard the cries of his victims but had no pity on them. It is said that the bones of those people are still to be seen in a big cave in Ata. The aborigines are said to have talked "like birds." In complexion they were like Tongans but were exceedingly tall, slender people.
>
> Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were not forced to depend upon the unpalatable pandanus fruit, for they had brought with them coconuts and yams, which they planted.

Presumably the arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi at Ata, if it is an his- 173
torical fact, occurred in the early eighteenth century. The genealogies of 166
the Tui Tonga family reveal a Tapuosi, daughter of the thirty-fourth Tui 484
Tonga, Fakanaanaa. Presumably Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were accompanied by followers.

There came next to Ata, according to the account of modern informants, a chief named Tameifuna, a man of Tungua Island in Haapai.

> Tameifuna was voyaging home from Fiji and being somewhat out of the usual course made Ata. He brought with him his wife Siakumi, whom he deserted, however, for an Ata woman named Otulau, the daughter of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. When Tameifuna returned to Tungua he left his wife Otulau behind. He told her to
> call the child, which she was to bear, Laufilitonga if a boy, Sinaitakala if a girl. The 173
> child proved to be a boy, who later became the father of the first chief of Ata, Tupouata. 622
> Tupouata claimed his chiefliness on the basis of his ancestress, Tapuosi being the
> daughter of the Tui Tonga. Tameifuna was the highest chief to reside in Ata. It was [643]
> said by informants that Tupouata became "king" of Ata at the wish of the people of that island and that he was not appointed by either the Tui Tonga or the Tui Kanokupolu.

The third accretion to the population of the island came in the latter part 173
of the eighteenth century. The chief Vaea of Houma, Tongatabu, had a 166
daughter named Hehea, who had a daughter named Latuhehea. Hehea 484

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as 484 173 the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one 166 of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea, at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata. They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own. Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight [264] of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a 162 man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15, [124] (in pocket)^ shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a [124] census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the 582 population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin marriage [565] was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file [184] of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

A /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They 778
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers
from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they
wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers.
Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The
sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then
the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first
time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of
the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [484]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in
which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's
eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?]
smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related
(26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people
are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant charac-
terized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata*
(shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the
deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following 776
account of the god Ngaohaa: [115]

> The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman
> named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary
> lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple 776
> by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to 793
> accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.]
>
> If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The 776
> people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the 793
> priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would 821
> direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. 484
> If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather
> would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but 793
> if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 821
>
> If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess 776
> and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then 793
> be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must 787
> await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess 755
> tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The [782]
> priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god.
>
> At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. 776
> Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but 793
> the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the 787
> same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings."
>
> On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.
>
> This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding [115]
Ngaohaa:

> The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god 776
> in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy 778
> place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside.
>
> Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman.
Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai 776
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have
dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo*
> (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck
> billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or
> temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

be injured by the wantonness or malice of the 727
lower orders, who took every opportunity of insulting
him. On the 16th of December, Finow, 727
having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for 634
the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. Mariner 484
to accompany him. The inhabitants of 224
this island made great rejoicings on account of [527]
Finow's arrival. He remained there three or [223]
four days, spending the time principally in shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this
island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Mariner 401
his watch, which they had procured from 727
out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity inquired 177
what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

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* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement. [262]

175 covery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to
648 those islands before the Fiji people came to
them: perhaps their canoes were drifted there
by strong easterly winds.—Since Captain Cook's
time, a certain chief at the island of Tonga*,
where all the principal chiefs at that time resided,
and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai,
having by former visits contracted the warlike
habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the
peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was
therefore determined to repair again to those
islands, in company with a number of young
175 men of the same unquiet disposition. They
721 were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and
[177] strife were the noble employments of men, and
ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by
[484] the weak and effeminate. Tooi Hala Fatai accordingly
set sail with his followers, about 250
in number, in three large canoes, for the island
of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the
place, but to join one party or the other, and
rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives,
and in short to do any thing that was, accord-

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[101] * It must be observed that Tonga is the name of one of the largest of this cluster of islands, and that it gives name to all these islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a country; and that it must be received in this latter sense wherever the words "island of" are not used before it.

ing to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. 175
To give an instance of the spirit of these young 721
men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on [484]
one occasion, during the night, undermined a [579]
storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working
their way up into the place, emptied it of
every thing it contained; not that they wanted
these things, for they were all independent
chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their
amusement. They had previously taken an [182]
oath, by their respective tutelar Gods and their [626]
fathers, not to betray one another under penalty
of death; and if on these occasions they met
with a stranger, who would not readily enter
into their views, they put it out of his power to
discover them, by dispatching him without farther
ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them: and as many of these islands were not only at war with one another, but also had civil dissensions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, one with another, (and this was the case in several of them) the new comers found a choice of employment ready prepared for them.

175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were
not contented with joining the wars of others,
but entered into one of their own, for the greater
acquirement of plunder: and their superior bra-
[484] very rendered them very successful. Tired at
length with their long absence from home, they
[177] returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes
behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their pas-
sage however they experienced a heavy gale,
during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
the remainder at the island of Tonga, they
669 found the place in a state of insurrection; the
cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's
175 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
669 throne; but had held the reins of government
643 not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
669 of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
every opportunity to exert his authority; and
643 frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wan-
644 ton: as an instance of which, he on one occa-
304 sion gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,)
that twelve of his cooks, who were always in
waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava,
should undergo the amputation of their left

634 The king, having finished this affair, began to
669 think of returning to Pangaimotoo: Mr. Mariner,
727 indeed, endeavoured to persuade him
to follow up the advantages of his victory by immediately laying siege to another fortress, which, no doubt, would soon have fallen into their hands; and the whole island, being struck with dismay, would readily have submitted to his government. But, it seems, Finow was not yet the complete warrior; or he thought, perhaps, that, having such powerful weapons in his possession, he could reduce the island at any future time.

Pangaimotoo is not more than three quarters
727 of a mile distant from the island of Tonga, separated
[131] from it only by a long narrow reef.
[484] To this place Finow returned with all his men, intending to go back to Tonga another day.
[262] As soon as they landed, they sat down to eat, not having taken any refreshment since morning, with the exception of some of the men, whose stomachs not being the most delicate, had partaken of some yams and plantains that they found roasting along with the bodies of the dead in the general conflagration at Nioocalofa.

727 They remained several days at this island,
349 during which time several canoes were sent
712 to an uninhabited part of Tonga for the

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocosely, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.

[522] This circumstance served greatly to amuse
and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following
morning they again embarked, and sailing with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands, they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
[349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his
own residence, and on this were erected four

634 764 anguish, never to rise again; then a heart-rending exclamation of sorrow from one spread its contagion to all the rest; and thus was the whole night spent in lamentations for the death of a good and great man; who, as far as human judgment can determine, was unjustly accused, and undeservedly sacrificed.

During all this time, the chiefs and warriors of the king kept themselves on the alarm, expecting every moment a revolt from the people of Toobó Nuha. Every thing, however, remained [484] quiet. The following morning Finow issued orders for the body to be carried on board a canoe along with him, to proceed to the island of Wiha; this was accordingly done, and they set sail, sixty or seventy other canoes following, with the Vavaoo people, and several of the king's warriors. When they arrived at Wiha, a grave was opened for Toobó Nuha in the *fytoca* * of his ancestors, wherein his body was deposited in the presence of all who came in the canoes, besides a considerable number of the natives of the island †.

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* Fytoca, a burying-place, including the grave, the mount in which it is sunk, and a sort of shed over it. The grave of a chief's family is a vault, lined at the bottom with one large stone, one at each side, and one at the foot and head, and is about eight feet long, six feet broad, and eight feet deep, covered at the top with one large stone.

[128] † The ceremony of this burial is omitted, as being similar

assembly rose up, and dispersed to their respective houses. 634

The following day, Finow, and all that had
come to this island with him, went on board
their canoes, and returned back to Lefooga, [484]
and, shortly after, all the Vavaoo people, ex- [565]
cept the greater part of the matabooles* of the
late Toobó Nuha, who were detained by Finow,
pursued their course to Vavaoo.

About a fortnight after their departure, there 668
arrived a canoe from Vavaoo with a mataboole, 669
and thirty or forty men, who were well affected 634
towards Finow. They brought the unexpected information, that the people of that island, at the instigation, and under the guidance of their chief, Toe Oomoo (Finow's aunt), had come to the resolution of freeing themselves from the dominion of the king, and of erecting themselves into a separate nation. Toe Oomoo, it seems, had made a speech to her chiefs, in which she declared, that she found it expedient to shake off the yoke of Finow; for, although she was his aunt, she could not but remember with gratitude the obligations she laid under to Toobó Nuha, and the respect that

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[*] He retained the matabooles of the late chief, lest by [669]
their counsel and advice the Vavaoo people should be urged
to rebellion: the matabooles have always great influence
with the chiefs.

tions of the gods, could prevent him turning 669
his immediate attention to the necessary pre- 634
parations for a speedy attack on Vavaoo. Intermediate and unexpected events, however, put a stop, for a time, to these preparations.

At this period, there arrived from Hamoa 484
(the Navigator's islands), Finow's son and heir, 634
Moegnagnongo, after an absence of five years; with him came another great chief, whose name was Voona, and who had formerly been chief of Vavaoo; they and their retinue had sailed from Hamoa in six canoes, one of which, containing sixty persons, and all Moegnagnongo's treasures, was lost in a gale of wind. In their way they had touched at Vavaoo, not knowing the political situation of the island, and were very near being forcibly detained; but, observing something suspicious in the conduct of the people, they put off to sea again, and thus made their escape in time.

Their arrival at Lefooga occasioned great 527
feasting and rejoicing, which lasted many days, 634
and served to divert the king from his immediate warlike projects.

Two daughters of chiefs had, for several 634
years, been kept apart, and reserved to be the 581
wives of the young prince (as we shall beg leave to call him, to avoid the frequent repetition of his uncouth name), as soon as he

712 strongly illuminated by the sun, represented to
the imagination of Mr. Mariner the spears and
javelins of ancient heroes, drawn up in battle
[714] array. On the top of the banks a number of
warriors, armed with clubs and spears, were
running to and fro, with fine light streamers,*
full thirteen feet long, attached to their heads
and arms, which, floating in the wind, produced a most romantic effect.

484 The king and his matabooles being now returned to their canoe, the expedition pro-
634 ceeded out of the inlet, and arrived shortly at a
small island, on which they landed, and strip-
[722] ped it of almost all its cava root. It is here
proper to mention, that all the islands adjacent
to Vavaoo were deserted by order of Toe
Oomoo, that the people might be more safely
situated in or near the fortress, in case of an
invasion. The three canoes afterwards proceeded a little farther onward, and put in for
the night at a small island, called Hoonga,
about two miles from Vavaoo. The next
morning they resumed their voyage, and arrived
at Haano, the nearest of the Hapai islands,
in the afternoon.

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[824] * These streamers consist of the fine membrane stripped off from the under side of the cocoa-nut leaf.

634 half-yearly, as usual: at the same time, all the
651 natives of Hapai, who had come to the war,
were to return with their chief. On this occasion
the young prince (Finow's son, Moegnag-
634 nongo) went with Toobó Tóa to the Hapai
727 islands, as he wished to look over his lands on
the island of Foa; and Mr. Mariner accom-
484 panied the prince, as he preferred his character
and habits to those of his father. They arrived
safe at this island after a quick passage of about
nine hours.

634 at the ceremony of *Inachi*, or offering the first fruits of the
season to the gods, in or about the beginning of October;
651 and again at some other time of the year, when the tributary
chief may think proper, and is generally done when some
article is in great plenty. The tribute levied at the time of
the *Inachi* is general and absolute; that which is paid on
the other occasion comes more in form of a present, but is so
established by old custom, that, if it were omitted, it would
amount to little less than an act of rebellion. It may here
431 with propriety be observed, that the practice of making pre-
565 sents to superior chiefs is very general and frequent. The
higher class of chiefs generally make a present to the king,
of hogs or yams, about once a fortnight: these chiefs, about
the same time, receive presents from those below them, and
these last from others, and so on, down to the common people.
The principle on which all this is grounded is of course
fear, but it is termed respect (*ofa*).

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of Filimóëátoo at Foa—Description of the sport 000
called fanna kalai—Treaty of Filimóëátoo with the chief of Hihifo, respecting the bird kalai, for Finow—Desertion of several chiefs and warriors to Tonga—Island of Tofooa, and restrictions respecting cutting down the Toa tree (Casuarina)—Volcano on this island—Certain principles among the Fiji islanders alluded to—Grave of John Norton, of Captain Bligh's boat, with some account of him—Extract from Bligh's narrative—Remarks upon the subject—Some account of a ship arriving at the island of Tonga from Botany Bay—Account given of Botany Bay by a Tonga chief and his wife, who had returned from there—Finow's ideas respecting the value and circulation of money—General slaughter of the dogs at Vavaoo, on account of their destroying the game—Their flesh cooked and eaten by several chiefs—Finow's first essay at the sport of fanna kalai with the bird from Tonga.

Shortly after the arrival of the prince, with 223
Toobo Toa and Mr. Mariner, at the island of 484
Foa, there came a canoe from Vavaoo with the
Tonga chief Filimóëátoo, who, it will be recol- 661
lected, was a relation of Finow, and had joined his cause at Pangaimotoo, leaving the island of Tonga for that purpose, by leave of his superior, the chief of Hihifo. Filimóëátoo was now on his return to the island of Tonga, with a

223 commission from Finow to treat with the chief
of Hihifo respecting a particular bird of the
661 species called *kalai* (trained for sport). This
[484] latter chief, although belonging to the island of
Tonga, was never professedly Finow's enemy,
[235] otherwise than as Finow had been associated
with the late Toobó Nuha, whom the chief of
Hihifo mortally hated*; but as Toobó Nuha
was now dead, and consequently all cause of
enmity removed, Finow was in hopes he should
be able to prevail upon the chief of Hihifo to
make him a present of one of the first and
best trained birds, of the kind in question, that
ever was known, and which this chief had
trained up with great care, and had long had
in his possession, though it was the envy of
223 every chief that had seen it. This particular
bird Finow was ardently desirous of, to practise the sport called *fanna kalai*, of which we shall give a description. The sportsman, armed with a bow and arrows, conceals himself within a large cage, made of a sort of wicker-work, covered over with green leaves, but not so much but what he may see his game: on the top of this cage is the cock bird tied by the leg, who makes a noise, and flaps his wings, as if calling other birds to come and fight him:

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* The cause of this enmity, Mr. Mariner is not well acquainted with.

235 whatever chief the keeper belongs to; and if
685 the chief thinks the offence really outrageous,
694 he orders the man a severe beating, which is
693 usually done by inflicting heavy slaps with the
open hand upon his bare back, or striking him
681 about the head and face with the fist.

Filimóëátoo soon departed from Foa, on his
223 way to Hihifo, and arrived at this place without
661 any accident. He was not, however, so suc-
[404] cessful in the object of his journey as he ex-
[578] pected to be; for the chief of Hihifo was by no means willing to part with a bird, which, he said, had cost great hazard to himself, and the loss of many lives, to preserve; for he had sustained wars with so many other chiefs, who had quarrelled with him on account of his refusing to give it them, that he felt, he said, more than ever resolved to keep it: but, however, as Finow had so strong a desire for an excellent and well trained bird of that kind, he would make him a present of a pair, which, although not quite so good as the one in question, yet would be found exceedingly valuable. Before parting, however, he qualified his refusal of the rare bird by saying, that if he ever did give it away, it must be after very mature deliberation, for it had already cost him a vast deal, and was certainly the best bird that had ever been trained.
[634]
[565] He was heartily glad to hear of the death of

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223 lower chiefs and matabooles, to engage them
661 more readily in his interest. Finow himself accompanied
634 Filimóëätoo as far as Häáno, (one of
431 the Hapai islands,) and took many of his principal
chiefs along with him, with a view of lessening
223 the consumption of food at Vavaoo. On
661 this expedition there were five canoes, all of
634 which arrived safe at Häáno; and from this
431 island Filimóëätoo proceeded in one canoe with
484 thirty men to Hihifo, where he also arrived
safe, and distributed his presents.

The chief of Hihifo, on this second urgent
223 application from Finow, after some consideration,
661 answered, that as he could not make any
634 use of the bird himself, his time being so much
[565] taken up in constant warfare with his neighbours,
[577] and as *it would not be consistent with the
character of a chief*[*] to retain from another
that which he could not use himself, he would,
at once, resign the bird to Finow, notwithstanding
the high value he placed on it, and
the immense care and trouble it had cost him.
This famous bird was accordingly consigned
to the charge of Filimóëätoo, who returned
with all convenient speed to tell the king the
634 success of his journey. Finow was still at the

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223 [*] The chiefs, among themselves, use this sort of expression,—as in civilized countries one would say, *it is not acting like a gentleman.*

771 is every probability that, some years back, it
was such, in a great degree, though now little
824 trod: but those who are willing to keep up the
spirit of the wonderful have attributed it to this supernatural cause. Superstitions, in all countries, are much of the same kind; we have similar ones in our own; but, whilst men of cultivated minds disregard them, the vulgar in general most firmly give their belief, particularly where there is some sensible object that appears to corroborate the tale *.

634 Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands,
276 he often held conversations at his cava parties with Filimóëátoo, respecting the state of affairs at Tonga. Among other things, this
777 chief related, that a ship from Botany Bay had
484 touched there about a week before he arrived, on board of which there was a Tonga chief, Páloo Máta Móigna, and his wife, Fataféhi, both of whom had formerly left Tonga (before the death of Toogoo Ahoo), and had resided some years at the Fiji islands, from which place they afterwards went along with one Selly (as they

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* I observe that some readers have looked upon the above explanation as if I had considered it perfectly satisfactory in regard to all the phenomena: this I did not intend: I have merely ventured to state what I consider to be the probable cause of the long track. As to the short transverse one, suffice it to say, that I do not believe it to have been occasioned by poor Norton's body.

pronounced it), or, probably, Selby, an English- 177
man, in a vessel belonging to Botany Bay, to 484
reside there. At this latter place he and his wife remained about two years, and now, on their return to Tonga, finding the island in such an unsettled state, they chose rather, (notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their friends) to go back again to Botany Bay. The account 177
they gave of the English customs at this place, and the treatment they at first met with, it may be worth while to mention. The first thing that he and his wife had to do, when they arrived at the governor's house, where they went to reside, was to sweep out a large court yard, and clean down a great pair of stairs; in vain they endeavoured to explain, that in their own country they were chiefs, and, being accustomed to be waited on, were quite unused to such employments: their expostulations were taken no notice of, and work they must. At first their life was so uncomfortable, that they wished to die; no one seemed to protect them; all the houses were shut against them; if they saw any body eating, they were not invited to partake: nothing was to be got without money, of which they could not comprehend the value, nor how this same money was to be obtained in any quantity; if they asked for it, nobody would give them any, unless they worked for it, and

634 things of little value; and he was exceedingly
727 sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of
the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her
177 to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he,
829 "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, "perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain "Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had "plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on "board, whilst yours had nothing but iron "hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páänga* "as I thought: but if every one of these was "money, your ship must have belonged to a "very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained
634 at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved
484 to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set
sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying
634 them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the
231 king gave orders that all the dogs in the island, except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised
262 himself great sport with his favourite bird. As the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands, there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

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[526] games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

[252]
[565] * At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

CHAP. IX.

Island of Hoonga—Curious cavern there, and how first discovered—Anecdote of the person who first discovered the cavern—Description of the sport of shooting rats—Popular tale of the origin of the Tonga islands—Finow's return to Vavaoo—General *fono*, and seizure of several chiefs—Stratagem used to secure Cacahoo—Several of the prisoners taken out to sea to be sunk; their conversation on the way—Conduct of Cacahoo whilst sinking—Conduct of the widows of the deceased, particularly of the widow of Now Fahoo—Description of the plantation of Mahe Boogoo—Popular tale of what happened at this plantation in former times—Tonga song—Abundance of a peculiar fish found here—This plantation given up by Mahe Boogoo, and conferred on Mr. Mariner by Finow—Mr. Mariner's providential escape from a shark—A dead spermaceti whale found off one of the islands—Their method of making ornaments with its teeth—Anecdote exemplifying the high estimation in which whale's teeth are held—Still greater value of them at the Fiji islands—Arrival of Cow Mooala from the Fiji islands. 000

Finow, having at this time no business of importance 634
on which to employ his attention, resolved 484
to go to the island of Hoonga, lying at 659
a small distance to the southward of Vavaoo, 224
in order to inspect the plantations there, and 517
to recreate himself a little with the sport of
shooting birds and rats. Mr. Mariner, as [727]
usual, formed one of the party. On this island 133

773 line accidentally breaking, the act was incomplete,
823 and matters were left as they now are.
They show a hole in the rock, about two feet
diameter, which quite perforates it, and in
[643] which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is moreover
said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had,
till within a few years, this very hook in his
possession, which had been handed down to
him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his
house catching fire, the basket in which the
727 hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr.
124 Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a
643 hook it was, and was told that it was made of
778 tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the
bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just
like a large albacore hook, measuring six or
seven inches long, from the curve to the part
where the line was attached, and an inch and
a half between the barb and the stem. Mr.
Mariner objected that such a hook must have
been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said
Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a
god's hook, and could not break;—how came
then the *line* to break? was it not also the property
of a god?—I do not know how that was,
replied Tooitonga; but such is the account
they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

634 A few days after this excursion, Finow having
484 portioned out several of the smaller

islands to the government of certain of his 634
chiefs and matabooles, returned with his party 484
to Vavaoo. As soon as he arrived at Felletoa,
he issued orders for a general assembly of the
people, to be present on an appointed day, at a 634
general *fono*, or harangue, to be addressed to 577
them in regard to the affairs of agriculture, and 653
to remind them of their duty towards their 651
chiefs, and how they ought to behave at all
public ceremonies; in short, upon such subjects
as were more or less connected with agriculture,
or with moral and political duty. These 634
fonos are frequently held, and often upon subjects 653
of a minor importance, such, for instance, 651
as the expediency of repairing Finow's canoe: on such an occasion, the owner of a certain plantation would be appointed to provide the carpenters with provisions, another to provide them with canoe-timber, a third with a peculiar kind of wood for wedges, a fourth with plait, &c.—the same with more extensive matters, as constructing a large house, planting of yams or bananas, supplying provisions for feasts, burials, &c. so that in all these matters a tax is laid upon the people, every principal owner of land providing his share. The *fono* now about to be held was of a general nature, to be addressed to all the people, or at least to the petty chiefs: but the petty chiefs themselves often address

was obliged to give up the design altogether. 764
It was suspected that Finow would have been 152
very angry on hearing her intention, but, on 668
the contrary, he praised it much, and approved
of it, as being not only a meritorious act of
bravery, but a convincing proof that her affection for her deceased husband was great and
genuine.

After this transaction all the Vavaoo chiefs 634
paid remarkable attention to Finow, not fail- 565
ing to send him frequent presents of cava, 431
gnatoo, &c., and this they were the more
anxious to do, as, being the richest men in the island, they were apprehensive that, in case their conduct displeased Finow, he might form another conspiracy against them, with a view to deprive them of their possessions; for they now found by woful experience, that he was not a man to be trifled with, and that his honour was not safely to be trusted to.

The king now spent a considerable portion 634
of his time in country excursions, for the pur- 517
pose of shooting *calai*, of which sport a description has already been given. About this 484
time a canoe was dispatched to the Hapai 226
islands, for the purpose of procuring a quan- 133
tity of fish, several species being there found in much greater abundance than at Vavaoo, or, at least, there is a much better opportunity of

484 catching them, owing to the greater number of
[226 reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain
chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Ha-
[133] pai, where he possessed a large property, on
423 which he was desirous to reside for the future.
[594 He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated
on the northern coast, about a mile and a half
431 long, and half a mile broad, one end of which
634] ran down close to the water's edge: this pro-
823 perty he made a present of to the king. It will
be proper to give a description of this plantation, because it includes, near the sea, the most romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which constitutes the subject of many of their songs, and is a place of resort to the young and old of both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours, the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous, also, for having been, at a former epoch, the scene of an enterprising action on the part of some young chiefs, who took refuge there from their adversaries, and obstinately held their position for six months.

It happens that nature has assembled in this
133 spot, not only the wildest profusion of the ve-
137 getable kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree
stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sounding caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

823 On this rock in former times, as popular tradition
669 records, a band of young chiefs, the heads
[133] of a conspiracy, took refuge from the rage of
their adversaries, and held the place during six
months*; it being quite inaccessible, except
by one narrow path, exceedingly steep and
dangerous, not wide enough to allow two persons
to pass up abreast. This passage was, of
course, perfectly under the command of those
above, who, by rolling large stones down,
could, at any time, hurl destruction upon
whomsoever might rashly attempt to ascend.
Here they remained in security, as long as
their stock of provisions lasted, and even when
this was expended, they refused to yield, till
famine and raging thirst had destroyed all but
three, who, being tempted by a promise of pardon,
gave themselves up to their adversaries.
823 Scarcely was this done when they were taken
687 before the king, who cruelly ordered them to
727 be massacred in his presence. The number of
669 those who died upon the rock were five, and
they were buried on the spot: three of the
graves are still very apparent; the other two
are pointed out, but they are not in so distinct
[829] a state. The natives, now and then, ascend
[484] this rock, to enjoy the sublime beauty of the

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* They had supplied the place beforehand with *ma*, on which they lived during the whole time.

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of 823
those rebellious men, who, so long ago, departed 687
from the scene of public tumult, by 829
dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the 484
order of things. Here the moral reflections of 727
the natives are sometimes heard in the following
strain; "Where now are those men who 669
"once held up their heads in defiance of their
"chiefs? where now is the proud boast of superiority?
Their bodies lie here mingled
"with the dust, and their names are almost
"forgotten*!—But their souls! how are *they* 823
"affected? are they now the same ambitious 687
"spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in 829
"Tonga, when they animated this silent dust 775
"which is now all that remains of them?—are 669
"they still the partizans of sedition, tumult,
"and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all
"gods, and see with a clear understanding
"what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit [484]
this spot and view the lonesome habitations of
the dead; but it is not often that such visits
are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

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* The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few [793]
of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquiring
particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which [565]
they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt,
mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily
484 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,
[687] however, this trouble is amply repaid by the
[829] rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst
[775] the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon
[669] the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleasing melancholy easier to be conceived than de-
823 scribed. The effect which this works upon the
533 minds of the natives will be more easily understood when we see a sample of their descriptive songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,
[128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place, however, it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to this romantic and diversified spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song may be better understood.

137 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees
515 there is another wood, consisting almost wholly of *toá* trees: here the natives frequently resort to rinse themselves with the fresh water found in the hollows, between the junctions of the large branches or limbs that come off immediately from the trunk, after having bathed themselves in the sea: for the salt water, without using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption: besides which, the fresh water washing prevents that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

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72 hopes that he should be able to fulfil a promise
[226] he had made to Toobó mo Laképa the Prince's favourite wife (whose situation required a few indulgences) to bring her some of this sort of fish. The spot was just upon the perpendicular declivity of a shelf of rocks. Having come up to take breath with the intention of going down a second time, he saw with terror the dorsal fin of a shark gliding swiftly along the surface of the water directly towards him; he instantly clambered upon the reef and sprung on one side; in a moment after the deadly enemy, coming with impetuosity, rushed upon the shelf (in a foot and a half water) within a yard of him, and had some difficulty to get off again. As soon as he had recovered from his consternation, for at first he scarcely knew where he was, he quickly got off the reef, making very strong resolutions to avoid for the future a personal search after cray-fish in such situations.

About a month after this a canoe came from
23 one of the neighbouring small islands, bringing intelligence that a large dead spermaceti whale
[484] had drifted on a reef, off Vavaoo. Immediately all the chiefs ordered their canoes to be launched, that they might witness this unusual sight; and Mr. Mariner went along with them.
[301] They found the whale in a very bad state, half

721 exceedingly mortifying, and nothing could be worse timed. He endeavoured to laugh at their humour; and by way of apology for his neglect, he told them that he was so disappointed at not finding the ship bound for his own country, that he had forgotten to ask for some presents: and besides, that he knew she had very few of those things on board, as she came from a country where they were scarce. Finow endeavoured to console him for his disappointment, assuring him in the kindest manner that he should go by the next ship bound to his own country. Some women informed Mr. Mariner that the mataboolcs had endeavoured to persuade Finow to retain him; but the king replied, that he and his companions had already suffered enough in having the ship taken from them, and being themselves kept so long from their native country, and that he did not think as the matabooles did, that it was the disposition of the Papalangis to return and take revenge!

484 Another month now elapsed without any important circumstance occurring, when there arrived from the Fiji islands four canoes, bringing a Tonga mataboole, named Cow Mooala and his retinue, who had been absent from Tonga many years: but a narrative of this person's adventures in foreign islands will best form a chapter of itself.[A]

A [For this narrative, see category 116, pp. 307-335--Analyst]

CHAPTER X.

Cow Mooala's narrative—His early residence at the Fiji islands—Is drifted to Fotoona on his return to Tonga—Particular customs of Fotoona—Arrives at Lotooma on his return to Fiji—Character of the people—Popular tale of two giants—Arrives at Navihi Levoo, one of the Fiji islands—Character of the people—Their cannibalism—Observations—Sails for the island of Pau, the most important of the Fiji islands: its traffic—Account of an European vessel wrecked there—Anecdote of a gigantic lizard, (probably a crocodile) which did much mischief at a neighbouring isle: stratagem used to destroy it—Farther account of Pau—Description of several customs of the Fiji islands—Description of the island of Chichia, and its strong fortress: some account of its war with Pau—Description of a cannibal feast—Feast given by Finow on Cow Mooala's return to Tonga. 000

Cow Mooala went out to the Fiji islands with a number of young men, for the sake of an excursion, and to mingle in the wars of those people; sometimes at one island, sometimes at another, from the same motives probably as actuated Tooi Hala Fatai: (see p. 68). After having been absent about two years, he set sail on his return home, and having arrived within sight of Vavaoo, the wind became unfavourable to land, and the sea running very high, he was 484

484 obliged to change his course, and make for Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands;) but the wind soon increasing to a heavy gale, drifted him to the island of Fotoona, situated to the
000 north-west of Hamoa. As soon as the natives of this place observed his approach, a number of small canoes (for they were not in possession of sailing canoes) came from the shore to meet him; and, consistently with the laws and customs of the island, took possession of his canoe, and all his property. It forms an important part of the religion of this island to consider every thing that arrives there, whether of great or little value, as the property of their gods; no matter whether it be a large canoe, or a log of wood. It is first offered to the gods by the priest, with an appropriate address *, and is afterwards shared out among the chiefs. This spoliation is believed to be necessary for the welfare of the country; lest the gods should send a sickness among them, and cut them off, for infringing upon this great doctrine of their religion. This seems a very arbitrary law, and likely to have been invented for the purpose of plundering strangers, under the mask of reli-

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* This is the method of making offerings to the gods in Tonga; and, as Cow Mooala made no mention of any thing particular in this ceremony, among the people of Fotoona, it is presumed to be conducted in the same way.

000 peals of thunder on them that they were obliged to jump overboard and swim to their canoes with all expedition, sustaining the loss of 40 men. If this account be true, it would argue that they had not seen a ship before, or they certainly would have known her power, and not have made such an attempt. There is no ascertaining the point of time when this happened, for the natives keep no account of years, much less of months.

484 Mr. Mariner does not know how long Cow Mooala remained at Fotoona, but it must have been at least a twelvemonth, to have afforded him time to build another large canoe fit for his voyage: which having at length accomplished, he again set sail with presents of *gnatoo*, mats, &c. and a sufficient quantity of provisions for his voyage, and directed his course for the Fiji islands, for the purpose of laying in another cargo of sandal wood. He had now on board thirty-five of his own people, including fourteen or fifteen Tonga women, besides whom he had four male natives of Fotoona, who begged to go with him that they might visit distant countries. In his way he touched at the island of Lotooma (about a day's sail from Fotoona), a place noted for the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants, and where he was received with an
000 uncommon degree of respect. As they were little accustomed to the appearance of strangers,

they were greatly surprised at the sight of so 000
large a canoe, and considered this chief and his men as hotooas (gods) or superior beings, and would not suffer them to land, till they had spread on the ground a large roll of *gnatoo*, which extended about fifty yards, reaching from the shore to the house prepared for them. At 773
this island Cow Mooala remained but a short 171
time: during his stay, however, the natives [484]
treated him with very great respect, and took him to see some bones which were supposed to have belonged once to an immense giant; about whom they relate a marvellous account, which is current at Tonga as well as at Lotooma.

"At a period before men of common stature lived at Tonga, two enormous giants resided there, who happening on some occasion to offend their god, he punished them by causing a scarcity on all the Tonga islands, which obliged them to go and seek food elsewhere. As they were vastly above the ordinary size of the sons of men now-a-days, they were able, with the greatest imaginable ease, to stride from one island to another, provided the distance was not more than about a couple of miles; at all events their stature enabled them to wade through the sea without danger, the water in general not coming higher than their knees, and in the deepest places not higher than their hips.

000 that he was sure they were bones, though they were not at all like any human bones, and he supposed they must have belonged to some fish. To any new comer from Lotooma the first question is, "have you seen the "giant's bones?" But it would appear that communications with Lotooma were not very frequent, since the inhabitants made so sad a mistake as to think Cow Mooala and his followers gods.

● 484 Cow Mooala shortly took his departure from Lotooma, with three of the native women on board, in addition to his other followers, and sailed for the Fiji islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo, (as the natives call it, meaning large Fiji: the word Navihi is corrupted by the Tonga people to Fiji,) one of the Fiji islands, to the north-west. Here Cow Mooala took up his residence with the chief of the island, where he remained a considerable length of time, assisting in the war with other islands. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are much more ferocious than those of most of the other Fiji islands; this, however, is not stated merely upon the authority of Cow Mooala, who occasionally was apt to exaggerate a little, as will by and by be seen, but upon that of Mr. Mariner, who frequently saw and con-

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Finow was strongly of this opinion, observing 829 that it was but fair to suppose that, in the same 634 proportion as the white men were superior to them in knowledge, so were the hotooas of white men superior to their hotooas in divine power. But to return from this digression.

Cow Mooala, after remaining a considerable 484 time at Navihi Levoo, sailed with his people for Tacownove, which is a district on the western side of Pau, the largest of the Fiji islands. Pau 000 is much resorted to by American vessels, and vessels from Port Jackson, for sandal-wood, which grows to perfection only at a certain part of the island, called Vooi'a. The principal market for this article is China; and the demand for it is so great, in proportion to the smallness of the place which produces it, that it is now growing scarce, and, consequently, dearer. Formerly they would give a considerable quantity for a few nails, but now they demand axes and chisels, and those, too, of the best quality, for they have gradually become judges of such things: whales' teeth are also given in exchange for it. The chiefs of the Fiji islands very seldom oil themselves, and, consequently, require very little of this wood, the principal use of it being to scent the oil. The natives of the Tonga 489 islands, however, who require a considerable quantity of it for the above purpose, complain

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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count from several of the natives of Chichia who visited Tonga. 000

A few days afterwards Cow Mooala set sail for Vavaoo, where he arrived safe with about fifty attendants, as formerly noted, consisting of Tonga people, natives of Fiji, and others. 484 As soon as his arrival was made known to Finow, he issued orders to the owners of the different plantations of Vavaoo to bring to the *malái* at Neáfoo whatever they could afford, as presents to Cow Mooala and his companions*. 527 [431]

On this occasion there were wrestling, fighting with clubs, cava drinking, &c., as formerly described. 527 526 It must be remarked, however, that when these great exhibitions of wrestling and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for the new comers to be challenged by any one or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating. No man, however, is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it: in short, as they merely beat one another in a friendly way, it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any

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* It is always customary to make presents in this way to any newly arrived party, particularly to persons much respected, as was Cow Mooala, or who have been long absent.

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CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a canoe from the island of Tonga, bringing a chief and two young mataboolés, with a petition from Toobo Malohi: they give an account of the late transactions there, viz. Teoo Cava, chief of Hihifo, being joined by the chiefs and men that formerly belonged to Niocalofa, makes an attack on the fortress of Noókoo-Noókoo, and takes it: the enemy return in the night, and set fire to it—Teoo Cava, making his escape, is stopped and killed by a Fiji islander—Conduct of Ata in the defence of Hihifo, and the bravery of Máccapápa—Grief of Teoo Cava's widows for his loss—Reference to an anecdote in the missionary voyage respecting Eliza Mosey (note)—Petition of Toobó Malóhi and his chiefs to Finow: their reception by him, and ceremony of pardon—Toobo Malohi's conversation with Finow, and his ultimate departure for the Hapai islands. 000

Soon after Cow Mooala's arrival from the Fiji 669
islands, Finow received intelligence from Toobo 727
Toa (chief of the Hapai islands) that a canoe 728
had arrived at Lefooga, from the island of 643
Tonga, with a chief, and two young mata- [484]
booles. They came to petition Finow for pardon, in behalf of a great chief, named Toobó Malohi, elder brother of Toobo Toa, who had been long resident at the island of Tonga, and had defended the cause of Finow's enemies.
As this chief brought very interesting informa- 128
tion of all the recent events at the island of

755 “ cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 “ merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 “ and is not *A'ſoo* here, who descended from
593 “ ancient Tonga chieſs now in Bolótoo;—and
“ is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
“ *Moomoóe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
“ not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
“ why art thou merciless?” (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) “ have regard
“ for Finow, and save the life of his daughter.”

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i ſoo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter getting
782 worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chieſs,
593 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[787]
[776]

to a priest called *Toobó Téa,* who was accustomed 755
to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the consecrated 776
house where the sick child lay, but wherever [484]
the priest happened to be, which was generally [778]
at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó,* who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest entreaties 634
he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276]
following effect; "Why do you weary yourselves [753]
"with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
799 been with Finow (his patron, father, and pro-
784 tector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-*
593 *house* and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
799 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
784
593
484

daughter also to be carried on board ; then fol- 634
lowing himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 799
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo.* They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 599
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [404]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—" It is
" in vain that you come here to invoke me
" upon a subject on which you have obtained
" all the information that it is necessary for
" you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
" structed you in the will of the gods, and I
" can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 599
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would de-
rive benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

if they had arrived a little later, war would already have broken out. 578 At the sight of them, matters were soon adjusted; and their mutual friendship became stronger than ever.

A short time after this, the people of Hapai 669 clearly shewed their intention of commencing [727] hostilities; but were defeated in the very act by the vigilance and bravery of some of Finow's young warriors, among whom Mr. Mariner had the honour to take an active part. One day 669 most of the large sailing canoes were launched, 484 for the double purpose of procuring from some of the outer islands a quantity of coarse sand, and to convey those whose business it was to cut flag-stones for the grave of Tooitonga, to different places for that end. Owing, however, to contrary winds, they were not able to make the shores of Vavaoo that evening; and, in consequence, Finow, who was with them, proposed to remain at the island of Toonga during the night. A short time after, they received intelligence 669 from a fisherman that a canoe, apparently from Hapai, was approaching, and, it was supposed, with an hostile intent, as she had a quantity of arms on board, and many men. In consequence of this, the young warriors requested of Finow leave to proceed in a number of small canoes (as the wind was unfavourable for large ones), and endeavour to cut them off. After a due

634 not only always wet, but so replete with water
153 that it was constantly flying off in abundance
177 on the application of the axe; this on a sudden
727 thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange
that the superabundance of water should not
821 run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner
822 began his explanation, thus, "In consequence of the quick successive revolutions of the stone"—when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

634 On another occasion they were returning to
Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king
177 had been to fetch some of his property, consisting
727 chiefly of things which originally belonged
484 to the officers of the Port au Prince: among
502 others there was a box containing sundry small articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

accompanied with a thick mist: taking it for 634
granted that the wind was in its usual direction, 177
they steered the canoe accordingly, and sailed 727
for about two hours at the rate of seven knots 484
an hour. As they did not reach the shores of 502
Vavaoo, the thought now occurred to Mr. Mariner that the wind might possibly have changed, and in that case, having no star for a guide, a continuance of their course would be exceedingly perilous; he therefore searched for the compass to judge of their direction, when he was much alarmed to find that the wind had chopped round nearly one quarter of the compass. He mentioned this to the king, but he would not believe that such a trifling instrument could tell which way the wind was: and neither he, nor any other chief on board, was willing to trust their lives to it: if what the compass said was true, they must indeed be running out to sea to an alarming distance; and as night was already set in, and the gale strong, their situation was perilous. Most on board, however, thought that this was a trick of Mr. Mariner to get them out to some distant land, that he might afterwards escape to Papalangi; and even Finow began to doubt his sincerity. Thus he was in an awkward predicament: he was certain they were going wrong, but the difficulty was how to convince them of what was now, in all

634 probability, essential to their existence, for the
177 weather threatened to be bad, and it seemed
727 likely that the night would continue very
dark. At length, he pledged his existence
484 for their safety, if they would but follow his
502 advice, and suffer him to direct their course; and that they should kill him if they did not discover Vavaoo, or some of the other islands, by sunrise. This pledge was rather hazardous to him, but it would have been still more so, for them all, to have continued the course they were then in. They at length consented; the canoe was immediately close hauled, and Mr. Mariner directed their steering; the gale luckily remained nearly steady during the night; all on board were in great anxiety during the whole time, and Mr. Mariner not the least so among them. In the morning, as soon as the light was sufficiently strong, a man, who was sent up to the mast-head, discovered land, to the great relief of their anxiety; and the rising sun soon enabled them to recognize the shores of Vavaoo, to their unspeakable joy, and, in particular, to the wonder and amazement of Finow, who did not know how to express his astonishment sufficiently at the extraordinary properties of the compass. How such a little instrument could give information of such vast importance, produced in him a sort of respect-

ful veneration, that amounted to what was little short of idolatry; for finding that Mr. Mariner could not explain why it always pointed more or less to the north, he could hardly be persuaded but what it was inspired by a *hotooa*. He was so pleased with this property of the compass, that he almost always carried it about him afterwards: using it much oftener than was necessary both at sea and on shore, for it always seemed a new thing to him. 634 177 727 484 502

It may easily be supposed, that Finow, with such an inquiring mind as he possessed, took delight in every thing that afforded him instruction, or satisfied his curiosity; not only in regard to things that were very extraordinary, but those also that were moderately common and useful. He was accustomed, therefore, to visit the houses of canoe-builders and carpenters, that he might learn their respective arts, and he often made very judicious observations. He very frequently went into the country to inspect the plantations, and became a very good agriculturist, setting an example to all the young chiefs, that they might learn what was useful, and employ their time profitably. He used to say, that the best way to enjoy one's food was to make oneself hungry by attending to the cultivation of it. 634 157 634 157 241

There were many individuals at the Tonga 634 157

648 cumstance, yet this one consideration tends 174 strongly to corroborate the idea. It is highly probable that neither of them went out on a voyage of discovery, or if such an opinion be admitted, there is little doubt but that the people of Tonga first made the attempt, although the construction and rigging of their canoes [181] were at that time far inferior. The grounds for this opinion are, first, their situation to windward, and secondly, their superior enterprising spirit, in affairs of navigation, which may be said to constitute a feature of their national [171] character. Their superiority in this respect is so great, that no native of Fiji, as far as is known, ever ventured to Tonga but in a canoe manned with Tonga people, nor ever ventured back to his own islands, but under the same guidance 484 and protection. If we look to the voyage of Cow Mooala, related in Chap. 10,[A] we cannot but entertain a very favourable idea of his maritime skill. He sailed from the Fiji islands for those of Tonga, but the state of the weather prevented him making them; then he steered for the Navigator's islands; and the weather being still unfavourable, he was drifted to Fotoona, where his canoe was destroyed, and his cargo of sandal wood taken from him. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, as soon as another large canoe was built, he again ventured

A. [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 307-336--Analyst]

to sea, and returned to the Fiji islands to lay in 484
a second cargo.

The Fiji islanders make their canoes principally 439
of a hard firm wood, called *fehi*, which is
not liable to become worm-eaten; and as the 171
Tonga islands do not produce this wood, the 396
natives are not able to build canoes so large or 137
so strong as those of their instructors: all their
large canoes, therefore, are either purchased or
taken by force from the natives of Fiji. The 396
natives of Tonga take the greatest pains with
their canoes, polishing them with pumice-stone,
and paying every attention that they are not
more exposed to the weather than is absolutely
necessary. The canoes of the Navigator's [171]
islands are similar to those which were formerly
in use at Tonga, but the natives of those islands
never venture to the latter place but in canoes
manned with Tonga people.

Fono le, carving ornaments out of whales 306
teeth, for the neck, and inlaying clubs, &c. with 322
the same material. This art, as far as it regards 531
ornaments for the neck, is of Fiji origin; but [177]
inlaying clubs, wooden pillows, &c. is their own
invention. An account of the ornaments for
the neck has already been given, (Vol. I. p. 299.)
They inlay their clubs with extraordinary neatness, 322
considering the rude tool they employ, 531
which is generally a *togi* (or small adze), made 412
out of an European chisel, a piece of an old saw,

concealed by the folds that go round the waist. 291
There is some little difference in the way in 512
which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the
chief distinction of their dress is a small mat *,
which they wear round the middle, and is about
a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old
women, wear their dress in front so as to cover
the breasts. Children are not encumbered
with dress when at home till they are about two
years old: when they go out, they have a piece
of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed them- 512
selves, the chiefs hold cava parties, at which 276
women seldom attend, for as they are no great 574
cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of [562]
their own, and eat a meal; they take cava,
however, at the same time, in a small quantity;
whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large
quantity of cava, and most of them very little
food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about
the middle of the day. The morning cava party
usually lasts from two to five hours, according to
the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old 512
men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or 484
to amuse themselves with farther conversation. 517
The younger ones follow the example or wishes
of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

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* It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the táboo for females to appear without this mat.

512 with them to some distant part of the island;
*484 and whilst an entertainment is preparing for
[517] them at the plantation of some friend or relation,
they amuse themselves at some game, or,
perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe,
or a large house, or examining the state of the
plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea,
or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing.
[589] In these excursions the unmarried women
generally accompany them. The married women,
[462] and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*,
in the mean time employ themselves in one or
other of the occupations suitable to their sex,
or, if their husbands make an excursion to another
island, they usually take a trip with them.
512 The very young girls are generally employed
857 in the early part of the day in making wreaths
of flowers, which they have been out to gather
in the morning before sun rise, while the dew
was yet on them; for, being plucked at that
time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking
823 near Licoo * where there are many romantic
517 spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often
103 visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

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* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Na'e 'oku 'i he faka-lakepa,
Kae 'ou he takotofa.
  Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Kuo taofi e Tonga,
Tuku pe ke mau vaka-mu'a,
Ke vakai ki ai e laula.
  Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Malimali loto he lea,
Fai mu'a ke puli emo anga,
Kae toki tali 'ilo e taha.
  Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Si'i manu-siu ene nga,
Tuku pe keu halafekina,
Pe te ne 'iloa hono uhinga?
  Angi mai, angi mai, etc.

Oi tu ke fai pe ke mau,
Fakatotonu hotau faiva,
Ko ha'aku ena faka-vaka-tapu,

Ko ha'ata ena faka-'otu-sia;
Na'e fakaha 'i Fale-'o-valu,
Na'e 'ako pe 'i Mata-hina.
Tuku atu a ma'au ke fa'u,
Tuku atu a ke mou feia.
Na'a ke pehe ko ha 'uta au,
Na'a ke tokua ko ha 'uta kita,
He 'oku te tongia pe e fohe,
He 'oku te 'uli volaki pe,

He koe popoto moe matangi vale,
Telia e Tonga 'oku tafue.
Oi, ho ho 'i he aue.
  Angi mai, angi mai, e he,
  'Uoi he angi, e he he.

The place where men work was for me,'
But where they may rest for thee.'
  Blow, blow, etc.
Tonga's judgment is given clearly,
Let our boat sail along chiefly,
That all of the fleet may see.
  Blow, blow, etc.
My words have they heard gladly,
Hide your ways for none to see,
Till someone replies knowingly.
  Blow, blow, etc.
The poor bird seeks his prey wearily,'
Ahead another way I shall be,
Shall he know the way that I flee?
  Blow, blow, etc.

Let our songs be fashioned aright,
Correct what is not to your gree,
Like a chief's boat may I seem in your sight,
Like the storied mounds my glory;'
'Twas shown in the fisherman's bight,
'Twas learnt on the shark-catching reef.
Be it thine the verses to dight,'
You the makers of poems shall be.
In the land, thou saidst, I delight,'
Yea a landsman, thou saidst, verily,
But I take my turn at the steering,
Take my stand at the helm, nothing fearing,
Skill have I when the winds are veering,
For Tonga when dangers are nearing.
Oi, ho ho for the cheering.
  Blow, blow *e he*,
  O ho for the breeze *e he he*.

POEM OF MAMAEAEPOTO

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The following poem is described as a plaint of Mamaeaepoto when he was landed at Falevai, in Vavau Harbor, from the canoes of the chief Ulukalala, who was commencing a voyage from Vavau to Tongatabu. It was customary for a chief's fleet to take a large number of people a short distance, as an honorable escorting of the chief from the home anchorage. Many of these would leave the fleet before being out of the home waters. I have seen young men and women come outside an anchorage on board a boat they wished to honor, and then jump overboard and swim ashore. Mamaeaepoto had thought that he would be of those chosen to make the whole voyage, but found to his chagrin that he was expected to go ashore. He complains that he would not have gone on board at all, but that he was asked to go. He seemed not to blame the chief so much for his discomfiture as ill-wishers who have belittled him. Another account of the origin [837]

of the poem says that Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and that during his absence his wife proved unfaithful to him, and that her infidelity is the ground of his complaint, or rather he blames his absence which gave opportunity for attempts against his marriage felicity, an absence which was not through any desire of his own, but because he was asked to go to Tonga, and wished to show proper deference to his chief by obedience. The allusions in the poem seem to fit better the former explanation of its origin, but his wife may have proved unfaithful while he was away from home nevertheless, and while his disappointment at being put ashore may be the main theme, it is possible for there to be allusions also to a domestic mischance. Tongan compositions are full of allusions intelligible only to those who have an intimate knowledge of the circumstances. 539 484 505 837 [538]

Let none hardly judge me,
Neither he who was landed, nor he who sailed.
For 'twas not my wish to go,
There came to me the command
Of Fifita and Ulialangatau[1]
To prepare for a voyage,
This whereon I have come,
Carrying out my wish to show respect.
I thought, my friends,
That I would be a chiefly boat to you,[2]
For to me is gathered much fame.
But it seems forsooth, there were cares, *e;*
Had it not been indeed for your word, *e,*
That I come down to Neiafu that is close, *e,*
And wait at Vaomafana, *e,*
Go by land to Vaofakalava, *e,*
For I am a man skilled [in verse],[3]
As knows yon circle of chiefs.[4]
But 'twas said to thrust me out,
For I'm but a woman in the boat;[5]
Ne'er before have I been thus despised,
Ne'er before forbidden to sail.
Harken now, director and singer,
Fashion us a double canoe.[6]
Her two hulls Hunga and Maninita,
Talau and Teisina the decks,
For mast we shall have Tuungasika,
For deck house Kahifehifa,
The sail is the First Ahoia,
The steer oar the bay Fangakima,
Matoto the crew of the vessel.
We shall sail on a day of pleasure,
And seek Moahengi in Uiha.[7]
For I was landed through anger,
I had done no wrong to be righted.
Then go ye, go ye on your voyage, *e,*[8]
But I, I am left here in shame, *e;*
They said that I was being honored, *e,*
"Stay then with the chiefs who are staying,
Bend your mind to the care of the country,
And pray that our land be preserved.[9]
When 'tis calm we shall seek the bonito,[10]
Paddle about the outermost islands,[11]
Go ashore at Great Water and Kaho,
For 'tis a sport that speaks to our liking."
Ah, come, tell me thy thought,[12]
Thou stranger that dwellest here;
For the wind was blowing fairly
From the land at Falevai,
At the banyan where we landed,
Left the boats and here returned.
And my pain runs swift
As Fusi puts out to sea,[13]
And the drum beats out a sea song[14]
For sorrow that I am left.
And when Fusimomoho puts out to sea,
Raises the chant of her sea song,
In my poor heart is sudden pang,
The yearning not to stay.
Ho he ho he 'ia.
Ho he ho hiau he 'ia.

POEM OF FALEPAPALANGI[1]

This is written against a rival, but there is nothing to show who the rival is. Probably it is Mamaeaepoto. 539

deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment. 539

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *huasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe. [501] [502]

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work. [502]

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing. [535]

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things. [524]

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped. [501] [502]

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry. [528]

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Fifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala. 539

2. That you would honor me. 484

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail. 505

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem. 837

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song. [562]

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

539 8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

484 505 9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

837 10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

[533] 12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

[534] 14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

[361] 2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

[136] [137] 3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

[824] 8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

[538] 9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

[103] 11. Literally, "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

[195] 12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

[524] 13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

539 584 8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.

[776] 9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-75) is remembered as the one who divided the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred matters.

10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and inefficient.

11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.

[502] [644] [555] 12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplishments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.

[524] 13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of great chiefly families.

[823] [565] [649] [361] [644] [103] 14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divisions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people immediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (compare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohomafua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamotonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.

15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka "heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."

16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu, though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other extremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will hear something about the man she has rejected.

17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.

[345] 18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he was a descendant of Tungi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern Tongatabu.

[484] 19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore; he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all sorts of places.

20. One copy reads *Si'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *Si'i anga 'oe aualuma.* The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Tongan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma,* a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'au na luma,* is more likely than that the change was made in the opposite direction.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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86. **Kai-aji fakatuha umu:** Diner-out correspondent with food. 539

A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other 574 people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be got. (Compare No. 187.)

87. **Kai halafaki:** Eating on the short-cut.

This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means 539 264 to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others, waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up.

88. **Kai malo ta-foa:** Eating kindness that wounds. 539

Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, 431 as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his 578 gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is 576 wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification with that which hurts.

89. **Kai meakai kovi:** Eat bad food. 539

Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 264
183

90. **Kai mea vevela:** Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. **Kai melie:** Sweet food.

Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. **Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi:** Coward ever eating 539 food through the work of the strong. 264

One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing 571 the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits.

93. **Kaikai afua:** Eating delicately, with special likes and dis- 539 likes. 264

Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular 843 foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or befitting a pregnant woman.

94. **Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu:** All the fish eating is looking 539 at (or thinking about) an island. 484

If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well 262 placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for 152 a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him-

539 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is
484 said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about
262 the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used
152 of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 **95. Koto kai a kui:** All the eating of a blind man; the reckless
264 eating of a blind man.
183 Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "*te*" is apparently
[197] the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawai-
[192] ian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 **98. Pani puaka pani fonu:** Smeared with pig, smeared with
262 turtle.
554 The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 **99. Nifo tuu he vale:** Teeth in a foolish man.
829 Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 **100. Pipiko moe nifo:** Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there
461 are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

265. Mamao a folau: Distant on a voyage. 539

This seems a fair representation of the literal meaning though it may 484
be translated slightly differently. This rendering, however, well indicates the real meaning and use of the expression, which is that the one spoken of is at a distance but will return. He is away on a trip, not to stay, and in due course the time will come for his return.

266. Mamao a hikuhiku jila: The distance of the tip of the yard, 539
or the tip of the yard is distant. 501

This refers to that which is now at a distance but which later will be brought near. Just as in the boat the tip of the yard is far out of reach and hanging over the sea when the sail is set, but later on the sail will be taken in and the formerly inaccessible end of the yard will be brought within easy reach.

267. Mata liu ae fine heke: The strange woman (that is, one 539
without part or lot in the matter) looking at a boat's hold. 562

This is said to be referable mainly to important fishing, such as shark 226
fishing, and to indicate women who go to the shore to see a boat with which they have no concern discharge her catch. The women who are connected with the boat would say in effect by this phrase, "Let these women look; that is as much as they will get out of it. Ours it is to share in the distribution of the spoil." It is referred to the fascination and interest which women unaccustomed to the sight of a boat unloading her cargo would find in the spectacle. They would wish to return again and again and see more of it. To this line of thought seems to belong its application to a woman enamored of a handsome man (*manaia*). She would never tire of going to look at him. The first idea seems to be present also. Let her look at the man; he will be another's prize. Baker, however, gives what is apparently an opposite meaning, "To be enamored of strange women." Its most common application, at any rate at the present day, would seem to be to women looking at the treasures being unloaded from a boat in which they have no concern.

It is stated also that this expression has reference to the ceremony fol- 539
lowing the launching of a new boat, the *hopoki*, literally the getting on 501
board. Before this ceremony the boat could not be entered by women. The 562
ceremony might be performed by men but was usually done by women; the 788
most proper person being the chiefliest woman amongst the people to whom the boat belonged. In this connection also the idea would be of the distinction between the "other" women who had no part nor lot in the boat, and those who were intimately connected with her. (Compare No. 400.)

268. Mata vaka piki vaka: Seeing boat, sticking to boat. 539

People are welcome to go and see other people's boats, but they must 422
not go on board without permission or otherwise take the sort of liberties 571
with her which one may take with his own property. A caution against meddlesomeness.

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539 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

103 The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua. 484

505 The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

787 Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed
[779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

823 This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island.
[873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group,
539 inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the
133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua
823 from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain-
186 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the
184 Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

484 Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that
829 to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is
261

at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high 539
chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a 484
double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is 829
willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu 261
he is going to a good place to get it.

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost mid- 131
way between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a 133
widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after 539
the Haa-Ngana way. 829

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in 184
the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be 539
driven away. 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It 539
makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity 578
discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very 184
fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa.

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, 539
where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough 823
seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- 183

canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a 539
long voyage to reach a reef. 823

349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua: Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several 823
purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage 183
is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain.

350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua: Going about Haapai without 539
being in Tofua. 823

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain 484
of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception 131
of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high 133
and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.]

351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi: Ngaunoho is 539
merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered 622
throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as 626
they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once 829
a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on.

352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini: Going about in Haafuluhao 539
without being in Poujini. 823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. Tala kei i Kapa: Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The 539
route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a 776
formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations 266
made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly 183
peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it.

539 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.
516 This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and
526 pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or
423 the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be
571 known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of
another to increase his own;" which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.
352 The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed
484 on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not
usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's
829 home.
571 This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business
and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern
312 which is filled only by the rain.
The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified,
[177] of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the
[178] cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from
springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled
cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the
[821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether
any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside
261 cook-house.
One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is
515 prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a
372 fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the
261 ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and
letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

539 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.
278 This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced
272 or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the
273 drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.
164 *Kainiloto* is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose
577 whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to
826 pick out (what is in the) heart?
If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he
752 can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is
514 bad.
758 This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.
758 Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.
757 Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission
484 stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable
368 distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is,
758 picking the scab from a sore.
183 Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.
164 *Papanga* means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a
554 kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone
565 the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

501 177 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

[181] It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced navigators.

U Attachment

[184] Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

501 171 This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a comparatively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

[484] There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp. 54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settlements in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of the U connective in Tonga. 501 177 178

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank, might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Tongans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafa'anga* in particular, all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the U form.

175 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely
501 different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously
501 difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat
[538] to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very
502 largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of
[484] several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind
> [184] changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

501 According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haa-
505 monga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the
[175] royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

KALIA

175 Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different
177 from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to
501 acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their
[171] smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later
[484] the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no 175
private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though 797
there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, [226]
where a person has much, for numbers to flock
to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary 175
to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my 797
door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, 574
and eating, and a stranger passed, he
would come and sit himself down by me, without
ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce [261]
season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and
it would have been a transgression of the laws of
hospitality to have refused them, as long as they
lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our
fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient
left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to
take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long 175
as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; 797
but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as
my abbee now produced me an abundant variety
of good and pleasant food, I never made another
Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased,
and I generally made one of their party,
both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at 175
Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, 797
composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as 484

175 his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he
177 invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with
484 the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe,
which I had built, with the assistance of my
workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined
175 the natives in all their amusements. The chief,
177 whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person,
584 whom he wished I would do him the honour to
[581] marry, that he might be related to me. She was a
fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did
not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial
ceremony, which often takes place, like
the jewish espousal, years before the consummation
of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at
175 this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugonagaboola,
644 and the daughter of a chief of Arbai.
585 To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the
cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival,
we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight,
to provide for the festivities of his approaching
wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions
was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams,
plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal
morn, were brought in regular order before the
chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented
to him.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

These dances were performed with admirable 175
skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the 535
body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, 585
which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this 175
Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions 197
from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period
for our return; and a number of canoes assembled 404
to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or [501]
seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourish- 175
ing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, 241
cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth [197]
branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clus-

THE VILLAGE OF PANGAI

LOCATION AND CLIMATE

OF the three island groups into which the modern 101
Kingdom of Tonga is divided, that of Vava'u is northernmost. 131
The position of its chief village, Neiafu, is 18° 39'
south, and 173° 59' west. Three-fifths of the land area of 131
this northern group is in the one island, 'Uta Vava'u. The
remaining islands are separated from the mainland by narrow [133]
channels, some of them fordable at low tide. The island (see
Fig. 1)[A] on which Pangai village[2] is situated, Pangaimotu,[3] lies
directly across Neiafu harbour. The nearest landing-place 361
to the village may be reached by launch in a half hour. By 484
land, it is about a two-hour walk from Neiafu to Pangai
along an ill-kept bush track that is officially graced with [491]
the title of "road"; the distance is covered in half this [492]
time by horse. The ford between 'Uta Vava'u and the [133]
island of Pangai may be crossed by horse or on foot at low
tide, by horse only—and then with considerable difficulty—
at high tide.

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[2] Pangai is a fairly common place name in Tonga. It means 103
"meeting place" or "gathering place" and was formerly applied to
the permanent or temporary residences of the Tui Kanokupolu or his 643
agents. As noted below, the island of Pangaimotu is a royal estate.
The Queen of Tonga is the present holder of the office of Tui Kanokupolu. We have no data however, as to the specific time or occasion in the past when the island and the village received their name, Pangai.

[3] Perhaps a note should be added at this point on orthography. 104
The orthography to which the early Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries reduced the Tongan language and which is in current usage at the present time, is most peculiar. It consists of five vowels and thirteen consonants. The vowels are the standard Polynesian vowel sounds. In the consonantal system however, both *b* and *p* are used for the intermediate Polynesian sound between *p* and *b*; *t* and *j* are also used as if for separate sounds, though referring to a dental *t* sound that is sometimes palatalized before certain vowels. The front palatal nasal *eng* sound is symbolized by *g*. The student has his choice between using an irrational but customary and specifically Tongan orthography on the one hand and, on the other hand, the more widely used standard Polynesian orthography. For the place-names and proper names on the two sketch-maps we have kept the

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when 132
the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees 731
have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic 621
unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief
source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of [628]
course, continual coming and going between Pangai and
other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year 574
when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population 628
in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, [162]
congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with
relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few 871
youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital 484
and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170
miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or [505]
more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai
for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in
Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely 484
make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they 574
stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits
to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2),[A] sketches the lay-out 361
of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 423
acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of 368
European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands
empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are 366
again small frame buildings with large copra-drying plat- 417
forms and small copra storehouses alongside. 343

The style of house common in the village is also 342
indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72
per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European [177]
frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style
houses are built according to old-time native practice with [178]
coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

[A] [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

177 or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal
609 meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly
795 different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each
[484] week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass.
The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent
[872] Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least
one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

177 This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied
609 as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's
291 dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the
(797) "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to
the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-
[157] contact women are more conservative than men in taking
over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their 512
main meal of the day some time during the evening when 461
Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's 592
portion of the food baked during the day and set aside (264)
before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. 512
The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy 461
the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry 592
to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's 431
mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November 765
(three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to 484
remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of
a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity
of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon;
Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend
Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin
to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third
horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother,
her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church
of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When
the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be
slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of
two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all
dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily
fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it
through the village, going the longest and most roundabout
way until the procession comes at last to rest before the
bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says
the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations
if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your
generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about 512
twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. 592
They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, 527
to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They 461
went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed
copra-boat, and returned late this evening when
the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting
party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles
in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults
excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later
when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

knowledge that effort is useless. Impending misfortune 643
that calls for action is endurable: it is the passive waiting
for the bolt to fall that is so hard to bear.

After the first moment of consternation all the para-
phernalia of civilisation were thrown to the winds, and
for the first time I caught a glimpse of old Tonga. In the 643
presence of death the king's Ministers sank each to the 565
social status his forefathers had held for generations before 554
him. Ata, Lord of Hihifo, who was, politically speaking,
a nonentity, became now the chief figure. He with Tungi
must be at the dying king's side. Tukuaho and Kubu,
having fathers still living, sank into obscurity. The
schooners were victualled and loaded far below safety
mark with a living freight of chiefs and *matabules*. Tonga-
tabu was left to the care of Sateki and me, for neither of
us had concern in the great affairs that were toward. A 643
hush fell upon the island—the hush of a great expectancy.
Men spoke to one another in low voices when they met [521]
in the street, and all traffic of carts from the plantations [484]
was suspended. The houses were all crowded with men
and women, even at high noon, always talking earnestly of
the time that was coming upon them.

Tukuaho had sailed primed with good advice for all emergencies. I spent two days of great anxiety. On the third a sail was seen in the northern passage. A huge concourse of people had collected on the beach when she brought to, and suppressed excitement was in every face. Scarcely a word was spoken as the dinghy pulled ashore. Would the men never speak? At last the steersman, a grey-haired *matabule*, stood up and cried, "*Oku lelei a Tubou!*" (It is well with Tubou!) and a great sob of

Taking twenty years as the average reign of a Tui Kanokubolu 175 before 1777 (for the short duration of reigns during 643 the past century was owing to the incessant civil wars that followed the murder of Tukuaho), the date of Ngata's assumption of the title would be about 1610.

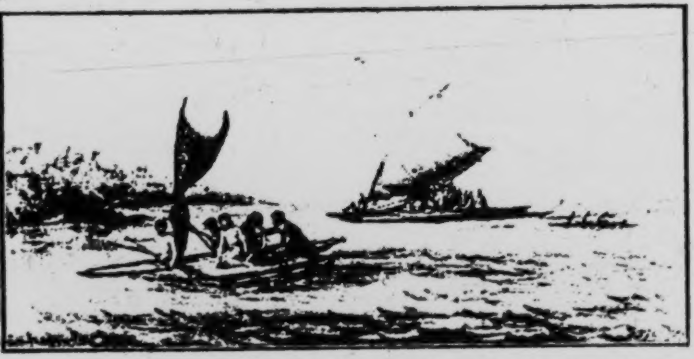
The Tui Kanokubolu was not strictly a hereditary office, like that of the Tui Tonga. None but a member of the reigning family could succeed, and a custom seems to have grown up of choosing the successor alternately from the families of the Tui Haatakalaua and the Tui Kanokubolu; but it was always open to the principal chiefs, who formed the electoral college, to reject any aspirant to office who was physically, mentally, or morally unfit to reign. Two conditions weighed with them—the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and popularity of the candidates. The election took place immediately after the funeral ceremonies, when the entire nation was assembled; and the election of the most influential chief was a guarantee against civil disorder.

Considering the primitive character of the canoes and 505 their ignorance of navigation, the geographical knowledge 175 of the Tongans was already wide at this remote date. 484 Their canoes must have often been carried out of their course to Fiji, which lies only 400 miles direct to leeward. That they made voyages to and from Samoa in the sixteenth century is shown by the fact that Ngata's mother was a woman of Upolu in Samoa; and the pursuit of his father's assassins by Kau-ulu-fonua shows that they knew of the existence of the Niuas, Uvea, and Futuna, as early as the sixteenth century. A very ancient saga describing the customs of one of the Line Islands indicates that they were visited at a very remote date. Colonies of Tongans

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

505 175 484 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward, and in Ongtong Java to the westward,—castaways, perhaps, who fought their way into the possession of lands belonging to the aborigines.

[501]



The Tongiaki,[1] *the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made.* (From a plate in the British Museum.)

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175 177 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

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[1] Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions. [177]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George em-
643 barked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the police-
177 men. One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a status in the country that would sooner or later affect his own independence. He now found that in Sydney land could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
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Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice 423
was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's 178
territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made 425
by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries
of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at [428]
the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his [656]
inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest
to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office
had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent
years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by
others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming 361
the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling 177
one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of 178
the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to [166]
leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village
life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a
great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce
the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The [245]
copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut
trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate
the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country
of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying 241
distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his 311
eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial 178
to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has
become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent
chief is inducing his people to give up village life
and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural
fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems
likely that the next few decades will see a return to the
intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food 241
plants has been much enlarged by introductions. 178

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of 103
foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted
in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages
are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a 484
considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. [181]
His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel [823]
and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and
the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one
part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa
and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans' [178]

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea 484
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by 178
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connection with sea travel still remains.

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans 501
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small 177
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable 178
force.

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing 538
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The 533
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examination of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top of a neighbouring island.

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in 177
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the 538
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowd- 177
ing out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by 533
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the [545]
capital of Tonga.

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have 304
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional 177
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an opera-
tion related to circumcision. When performed by a Euro- [743]
pean doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes place at one of the government hospitals to which the patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the boys of to-day.

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa, 206
and, though primarily for the use of European residents, 177
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office.

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become per- 546
manently established in Nukualofa, where there are two [177]
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small [571]

22: West OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on the author's travels as a missionary among the various islands of the Tongan group, see Category 797.]

648 It was pointed out to them, that there was no harbour regulation requiring any such payment, and that they had no jurisdiction, in an agreement of this kind, made between white men, who did not acknowledge allegiance to the Tonguese government. The demand was manifestly illegal; but the chiefs were bent upon enforcing it, while the captain was equally resolved to resist. Finally, the chiefs declared that if the money were not paid, and the captain still persisted in claiming the man, they would sooner club him to death, than that he should be allowed to carry him off. This threat they would have speedily fulfilled, had not the captain wisely, although unjustly, yielded to their demand, in part, while at the same time he proceeded to arm his crew, and prepare for the worst that might happen.

648 634 Palliative circumstances might be pleaded on behalf of the chief who was at this time acting as governor. He was by no means a suitable or able substitute for Osaiase Veikuni, the actual governor of Vavau, who was at this period absent, with King George, on a voyage to Samoa. His ignorance of the proper duties of his high office was self-evident; but these and other similar events occasionally transpiring, betrayed, as we have said, the existence of semi-barbarous ideas, and passions, against which the Missionaries had still to guard; and for which the advancing light of Divine truth was the only sufficient antidote.

648 643 484 The visit of King George to Samoa, to which we have referred, must now claim some further notice, because it had an important bearing upon the religious character of the king himself, and upon the history of Missionary enterprise in those islands.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

S 797 from Tonguese or Samoan teachers subject to their control. Under these circumstances the Samoans would not entertain, for one moment, the question of a removal of the Missionaries. Indeed they themselves thought it best to pause, and send a full representation of the case as it stood, before acting upon the instructions of the English Committee. All, however, was in vain, and in obedience to kind but positive instructions, dated December 6th, 1837, the Missionaries, with great regret, and in the face of the most earnest and imploring cries of the Samoans, vacated the islands. Thus left to themselves, the people determined to maintain the form of worship they had received: and, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Wesleyan Missionaries, who urged them to throw in their lot with the London Society's people, they steadily refused to do so. S T 797 648 Hence repeated appeals came from Samoa to the Missionaries in the Friendly Islands, and to the Tonguese people, beseeching the reconsideration of their case, and begging the return of the Missionaries; or, failing that, the appointment of properly-trained and authorized native teachers for their instruction, and for the due conduct of the Divine worship which was still kept up among them. In view of the settled and explicit instructions received T [643] from the Committee in England, the Tonga Missionaries could render no assistance; but when the Samoans, turning from them, appealed to King George for help, they felt that they had no right to interfere with what he might feel disposed to do on their behalf. They could not sanction, and neither could they hinder, even if they had been so disposed, any steps he might choose to take.

T [484] Accordingly, in 1841, a canoe sailed, by King

George's authority, from the Friendly Islands for S T
Samoa, having on board several Tonguese teachers 797
under the care of Benjamin Latuselu, a local 648
preacher and leader, who was a man also of high T
rank among the chiefs of Tonga. The king's (484)
instructions were, that if on arrival in Samoa they
found that the Methodists had joined the London
Society's Mission, they were immediately to return
to Tonga; but if not, they had his authority to
remain and teach the people, according to their
own request. As might be supposed, these Tonguese T
teachers were warmly welcomed; and in the 797
course of 1842, King George himself visited Samoa, 648
carrying with him ten more teachers and their 643
families. He took these steps on his own responsibility, S
and because he considered that a great wrong 797
had been committed in the abandonment of the 648
Samoan Mission. After his return from this visit, King George drew up a lengthy document, setting forth the whole case, and narrating what he had seen of the condition and wants of the people. This document was forwarded to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in England, with the king's earnest request for a re-consideration of the whole matter, toward securing a resumption of the Mission. This appeal also was in vain; but the king did not cease to sympathize with the Samoans, or fail still to render them such assistance as he could.

This was the state of affairs, when, in the year T
1847, another deputation of Samoan chiefs visited S
Vavau with the special object of laying before the 797
Missionaries, and the king, a further statement of 648
the religious condition of their countrymen, and S
also to reiterate an urgent request for Missionary [484)
oversight and help from ourselves. The interview

ceremony of kava-drinking had finished, he stated T 797
his intention of shortly visiting Samoa in person, 648
and that he would, if possible, secure for them 643
the services of some Tonguese teachers, and local S
preachers, on his own entire responsibility. He 797
declared that he deeply sympathized with them, 648
and that although the Missionaries felt themselves
bound in honour to maintain the mistaken and ill-advised
agreement between the two Societies, he
was at perfect liberty to do everything he could to
meet the necessities of the case.

Accordingly, toward the close of that same year, T
King George sailed, the second time, for Samoa, 797
accompanied by a fleet of ten canoes. Prior to this 648
he had waited upon us to ascertain whether we 643
could, or would, officially select or set apart any 484
preachers or teachers to accompany the expedition. S
We then candidly explained to the king that whatever 797
might be our own personal opinions, yet as 648
the case stood, we could take no such step. Upon
this the king proceeded to adopt his own measures
for securing volunteer teachers for Samoa; and
several competent and able men having come forward,
he conveyed them and their families to their
destination, where they at once joined the other
Tonguese teachers who had either remained in
Samoa after the English Missionaries had left, or
who had been taken thither by the king in 1842.

Among those zealous and self-sacrificing men to S
whom the Samoans were deeply indebted, was 797
Benjamin Latuselu, who, as we have before stated,
went to Samoa in 1841. Amid many difficulties
and privations, this able and godly man directed
the affairs of these infant and deserted churches,
from that time until the year 1847, when he came

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[Niua Tobutabu]

It is, nevertheless, remarkable that, even before 797 that time, the people of Niua Tobutabu were exceedingly anxious to spread the religion which they themselves had just received. They longed to carry the glad tidings to their neighbours and friends of Niua Foöu. Above ninety miles of ocean, noted for its storms and heavy seas, rolled between them, where many a canoe had perished while attempting to make for either shore. But the restless desire grew stronger and stronger; and, finally, the necessary arrangements were made for a Missionary visit to the island in question. Two 797 canoes were prepared, and manned by about one 505 hundred and fifty persons. The expedition was 132 headed by the King of Niua Tobutabu, and it was 484 accompanied by a teacher from Vavau. The dis- [634] tance ought, under ordinary circumstances, to have been run in a single day; but, shortly after starting, the winds became adverse and tempestuous, and for six days the canoes were driven hither and thither. Niua Foöu had been sighted for several days, but could not be reached. The storm, meantime, increased in fury. The sea ran mountains high; and, at last, one of the canoes was overwhelmed, and foundered. It contained about one [165] hundred persons, of whom seventy were drowned, the others being rescued by the second canoe. Among those who perished was the Vavau teacher. 797 His body was afterwards washed on shore, and when found, his hand still grasped, in the rigour of death, a bundle of Scripture Books, from which he was not parted even in his watery grave. We may well believe that, by the precious truths he was so anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened in the hour of awful calamity and death.

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 The Great Master did not permit him to accomplish his loving intention, but the reward of his charity and sacrifice would not be the less glorious on that account.

797 Undismayed by this sad event, the king and peo-
505 ple of Niua Tobutabu, at a subsequent period,
484 undertook a similar expedition to the island of
648 Uvea; an island still more distant from them than
Niua Foöu, but with whose king and people the Niua Tobutabuans had domestic and political relationships. Their voyage thither was made in
797 safety, but it terminated in still greater disasters
648 than had befallen the former. The ruling chief of
Uvea could not brook the advice tendered him by his friendly visitor; and, perhaps, the latter, notwithstanding the purity of his motives, was not discreet and prudent in his measures and movements. It is probable, too, that the chief of Uvea had cast an evil eye upon the queen of Niua Tobutabu, who had accompanied her husband Gogo. Be this as it may, occasion for a quarrel was sought, when the Uveans suddenly rose upon their visitors, mercilessly slaying the king, with nearly the whole of his crew of forty-five men. The women were all spared, but only to meet a more ignominious fate. The wife of the murdered king was commanded to join the seraglio of the Uvean chief, but this she positively refused to do; and, to escape from his vengeance, she ran off into the bush, where she hid herself for two months, subsisting upon roots and such edibles as she could obtain from around her place of concealment. She was discovered by a Tonga man, at the end of the time specified. She was greatly emaciated by hunger and exposure, and was apparently in a dying condition. While in this state

[Niua Tobutabu]

she was visited by her cruel persecutor, and commanded to eat, under pain of instant death. Food was forced upon her, and after a time she partially recovered, when the foul savage repeated his base proposals. She was proof against all his threats. The narrative of the subsequent sufferings and escape of this high-minded woman, form a romance in real life such as is not often met with. She ultimately escaped in the time of her greatest peril, by means of a Vavau canoe, which was providentially drifted to Uvea by stress of weather. The crew taking compassion on her case, by a clever stratagem carried her off in safety, and conveyed her to her own land.* 797 648

We reserve for another place the account of a still more recent visit to Uvea undertaken by the successor of the murdered king of Niua Tobutabu, in which he also, and his followers, narrowly escaped a similar fate. It will be enough to say here, that amidst all these sources of alarm and depression, the work of God prospered in Niua Tobutabu itself, under the care of the native teachers, with the occasional and brief visits of the Missionaries.

Niua Foöu.—In the year 1832, the "glad tidings of great joy" first reached this island in a very remarkable manner. Ulukalala, the king of Vavau, having projected a voyage to Niua Tobutabu, on political and domestic business, was accompanied thither by the Rev. Mr. Cross, then one of the resident Missionaries in Vavau, who gladly hailed the opportunity thus presented, of preaching Christ in the "regions beyond." When the objects of the visit were accomplished, seven canoes in all prepared to sail for Haafuluhao. Of this 797 505 484

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* "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," p. 276.

(113)

[Niua Foöu]

797 number, however, only four actually started. The
505 others, chiefly manned by heathens and natives of
484 Niua Tobutabu, were either deterred by the
threatening appearances of the weather, or by superstitious fears. The voyage proved disastrous in the extreme. One canoe was lost, with its crew of between sixty and seventy persons. Another, commanded by the Niua chief, was driven away to Fiji; the third, having on board Ulukalala and Mr. Cross, with immense difficulty and risk reached the islands of Haabai; while the fourth, filled with Vavauans, after many days of toil and extreme peril, sighted the island of Niua Foöu. The coast was known to be extremely rugged, and they were fully aware of the fierce character of the inhabitants. They knew that if the canoe should be wrecked in making for the shore, the people would not fail to fall upon them, according to the widespread custom of Polynesia; and that after having destroyed them, they would take possession of whatever might be saved from the wreck itself. They were not surprised, therefore, upon nearing the land, to see numbers of armed men clustering upon the rocks, ready to resist their landing. The Vavauans, however, being well supplied with muskets and ammunition, determined upon making a grand and formidable demonstration by firing several vollies of blank cartridges. Before this display the ruder Niua Foöuans fled away in terror, leaving the coast clear for the visitors to effect a landing in safety. They might have followed up their advantage in a less bloodless manner, but the power of the Gospel was already sufficient to restrain the former passions of these half-
797 enlightened men. When the people of Niua Foöu

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797 643 [875] alphabet upon the sands of the sea-shore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose. Strange sight! A poor, graceless wanderer, from the land and the religion of his fathers, compelled, by the imperious will of a heathen chieftain, to do homage to the God whom he, the *baptized* heathen, had disowned and disobeyed, but after whom the unbaptized heathen himself was now seeking, if haply He might be found. As yet Taufa-ahau had not bowed the knee to Jehovah; but he was always present as an onlooker, with a few of his people, when the poor sailor "said his prayers." Amid this fitful glimmering of light upon Taufa-ahau's mind and character, there were sufficient indications of a mighty struggle within his breast, and evidences also of the moral courage, force of will, and fixedness of purpose, which have ever been the attributes of the great and good.

[484] In 1829, Taufa-ahau undertook another voyage to Tongatabu to beg for a Missionary. No one could be spared, at that time, from the work in Tongatabu itself; but the Missionaries proposed that he should take back with him a young native teacher. This, however, he peremptorily declined. The very man who was content to listen to the words, and prayers, of a poor castaway white sailor, rejected with scorn the proffered service of one of his own race. But what was the issue? Was this a case for which *native agency* was inapplicable? If nothing but native teaching could be had, would Christianity be rejected? Far otherwise. Taufa-ahau was soon taught to esteem and value even native aid: and we have seen, in our previous pages, how

he himself, in his high sphere as a king, became a 797
Christian evangelist, and how largely and effect- 643
ively he employed the labour of his own subjects in the vineyard of the Lord. But how was he taught this great lesson? How did his proud and haughty mind become docile, and submissive, to instruction and spiritual guidance, even from an inferior among his own subjects? Let us consider how this change was brought about.

After rejecting the offer of a native teacher, Taufa-ahau, like Naaman of old, went back to his home greatly disappointed, if not wroth, and saying in his heart concerning the Missionary for whom he had sought, "Behold, I thought, he would surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the
Lord his God." In this chafed spirit he sailed for 797
Haabai; himself, or, at all events, his heathen crew, 643
still invoking the propitious aid of heathen deities for 484
the voyage. A storm, however, arose, of no ordi- 132
nary description, and, for two days, it was doubtful whether the canoe would ever reach the land in safety. That outer storm produced another of a different sort, and of even greater moment, within
the soul of Taufa-ahau. He set it down as a Divine [787]
judgment upon himself for rejecting the offer made by the Missionaries of a native teacher. Having reached Haabai after great exertions, it was not long before he revisited Tongatabu, chiefly for the purpose of asking for the very man whom he had formerly rejected. With him he returned to Haabai,—a heathen still, but an earnest and humble inquirer after truth.

Peter Vi was the honoured man whom the Mis- 797
sionaries employed as the very first native herald 643
of salvation among his own people; and he it was

539 chiefs had already left; but others were still sitting
797 talking over the whole affair. When they saw me
798 approach, one said, 'Well, you have come, have
643 you? It must, then, be nothing but a bag of old wives' tales.' But another said, 'Not so. Why do we stand idly by talking nonsense? This fellow is the mischief-maker. Had he been a foreigner, we might have borne with him; but as he is only a Tonga man, who will be contented to endure this thing that is done? He is a rogue.' Turning to the last speaker, I said, 'Hear me! Axes and knives are things which foreigners have to give us; but religion is the gift of Jehovah, the God of heaven and earth.' Upon this, Taufa-ahau also spoke, and began to tell about Jesus Christ, when the chief rose in anger, and left the company. Thus, there and then, did Taufa-ahau publicly declare his Christianity; after which he went straight away and destroyed many idols, and idol-houses, in Lifuka, and in several of the other islands of Haabai. At the same time, also, he commanded Mafileo to sail for Tonga, to bring Mr. Thomas, the Missionary, who was now leaving Hihifo.

539 "Accordingly, I went with Mafileo to Tonga, to
797 carry the good news, and to bring Mr. Thomas to
Haabai. We sailed from Haano in a *kalia* called
484 the 'Tausala.' Having embarked Mr. Thomas from Tonga, we started on our return to Haabai; but the wind was so strong we had to turn aside, and anchor at Atata. Here the heathen who were on board became very angry, exclaiming that the wind was bad, because we were on board, and because we had forsaken the worship of the god Laukite. After being detained a long time in Tonga, we at length sailed, and arrived in Haabai.

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797 where we have churches and congregations, are to be well trained and governed, our native teachers and ministers must receive an amount of education and care, such as has never yet been bestowed upon them.

14th.—Visited Haano. Left Lifuka at seven A.M.; but, owing to the lightness of the breeze, did not reach our destination until two P.M. The day was distressingly hot. Soon after landing, I met the leaders and local preachers. Our Assistant Missionary has lately been conducting a class for their better instruction; and I was much gratified to find a marked improvement among them. At lamp-light we held a public prayer-meeting, which was well attended. The chapel was well filled. The singing was excellent and hearty.

15th.—Shortly after sunrise, preached to a large congregation. We sailed for Lifuka, immediately after the service. The heat was intense; and both the natives and myself were completely prostrated. We arrived at Lifuka about noon. I intended preaching at three P.M., but was unable to do so. Peter Vi, therefore, took the pulpit, and preached a most telling and evangelical sermon, from the words, "Prepare to meet thy God."

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December 4th.—To day a canoe arrived from Vavau, with several of the most influential chiefs, who are on their way to visit the king at Tongatabu, in relation to certain recent transactions in Vavau, which have given rise to serious misunderstanding between themselves and the Missionaries. The canoe sailed again at four P.M. Thinking that 797 mischief might be done should only *ex parte* statements be laid before the king, I resolved to start for Tonga, so as to secure a personal interview

Friendly Islands, and urging upon the king the duty of taking steps to secure a formal recognition of his independence by foreign powers. Hawaii, once as barbarous as any country of Polynesia, and much more degraded, morally, than ever Tonga was in its worst times, has now become a prosperous and comparatively wealthy state, treated with, and recognised as an equal, by all the great nations of the world. 648

It is a highly instructive fact, and very suggestive of the remarkable progress of religion and civilization in these parts of the earth, to find negociations of this kind formally opened between kings and nations, who, a few short years since, were heathens and cannibals. In a communication addressed to myself, it is said that, "the desire of His Hawaiian Majesty is, to see all the Polynesian races become as prosperous, and as fully independent, as the nation over which he rules." His Hawaiian Majesty strongly recommends King George to establish a constitutional government. A copy of that adopted by the Hawaiians, and recently published in the Sydney newspapers, has been translated and laid before the king. It is receiving his best consideration; but, at present, the king thinks that the introduction of such a movement would be inopportune. Certain I am that the Tonguese have better capabilities, and greater facilities for becoming an important people, than even the Hawaiians; but such sweeping reforms and alterations in the political condition and laws of any people must, in great measure, be a work of time.

January 15th.—The king sailed for Vavau, to make arrangements for his visit to Fiji. All the chiefs are busy here preparing their canoes. The 643 484

643 sea-shore presents quite a lively scene. Here some
484 are sail-making, others spinning ropes, others plait-
[293] ing *kafa*, or the cocoa fibre sinnet, and others again
[396] are employed in scouring or repairing the hulls of
the various large sea-going canoes.

January 31st.—The Haabai portion of the king's Fijian fleet sailed for Tonga to-day. They have been waiting impatiently for several days for those that are coming from Vavau. The departure of so many large *kalias* was an imposing sight. Many tears, however, were shed by the friends of those who have gone; it being very probable that numbers of these voyagers will never return.

797 The subject of this expedition to Fiji, and of
648 its results, requires a more extended and consecutive view of it than our journal would afford. It was the last event of moment that occurred during our remaining residence in the Friendly Islands; but inasmuch as the scene of Tonguese movements lay in Fiji, we must be pardoned for entering into certain details that have already appeared substantially in another work.* We also feel this to be
[114] very necessary, because in a still more recent publication of considerable note, some of the facts connected with the history have been misrepresented and distorted, to the manifest prejudice of the Tonguese people, and more particularly to the injury of King George.

648 In a work we have already named in former
643 pages it is said, "that King George, the present
669 ruler of Tonga, having subdued a rebellion in which
114 Maafu, a leading Tonguese chief in Fiji, took part,

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* "Fiji and the Fijians," vol. ii., pp. 189-196. London: Heylin. 1858.

797 promised visit to Thakombau ; but it would not be
648 safe for me or mine to go with only a few canoes.
In the present state of Fiji, a weak appearance
643 would be the signal for our destruction. I take a large number of canoes, not as a demonstration against Fiji, nor with the design of taking part in their quarrels, but for the safety of myself and people." These were the king's words to myself in reply to the suggestion that he should go to Fiji with not more than ten canoes. That the answer he gave, and the course he took, were prudent and wise, the sequel of the history will show. But I think these facts ought to put the king's conduct in a very different light from that in which it is made to appear in Dr. Seemann's statements.

648 Let us now pursue our narrative of King
643 George's proceedings. The fleet sailed from Tonga
at the close of February; and after touching at
484 Mote, Lakemba, Kabala, Totea, Moala, and Gau, the Tonguese arrived at the island of Moturiki, twenty miles from Bau, on March 21st, 1855. Here King George was desired to remain till Monday, the 26th, so that the Bau chiefs and people might make due preparation for his reception; but a melancholy event led to the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Tonguese fleet at Bau on Saturday, the 24th.

On Friday, the 23rd, the king sent a small canoe from Moturiki to Ovalau, to pay his respects to the Chief of Levuka on that island, and to carry certain letters to the Romish priests from their friends in Tonga. In prospect of this visit to Fiji, the French Governor of Tahiti, M. Du Bouzet, had requested the king to pay any attention and courtesy he could to the French priests there,

which the king promised to do. These were the 648
only reasons why the small canoe, manned by about 484
twenty men, was sent on to Ovalau. When these [643)
messengers drew near the town where the priests resided,
the sail was lowered, and they went towards
the shore. They were about to anchor; but in the 648
mean time, a great number of the Ovalauans had 721
assembled on the beach. The Ovalauans had heard
of the Tongan fleet at Moturiki, and there was
great excitement. Suddenly, four muskets were
discharged, and the chief in charge of the canoe,
Tavaki, the brother of Benjamin Latuselu, was
mortally wounded, while another of the crew was
slightly injured. The Tongans, at first, wished to
return the fire, and revenge the fall of their chief;
but Simon Salo, who was captain of the canoe,
would not allow it. The Chief of Levuka had also
arrived on the spot, and drove the Ovalau natives
away. Then the canoe set sail, and returned to
Moturiki, where Tavaki expired. This calamity
led King George to order the immediate advance of
his fleet to Bau, where he arrived, as stated, on the
24th of March.

Near to Bau is Kamba, a Bau town which had been at enmity with Bau for a length of time. They had lately destroyed, in a revolting manner, about forty persons belonging to another town near to Bau. Mara, the rebel chief, was now residing at Kamba. He had, ever since the peace between Rewa and Bau, been exerting himself to oppose peace, and to fight against Bau. He was now recognised as the leader of the rebellion. When, therefore, King George arrived in Bau, and represented to Thakombau what had happened at Ovalau in the attack made upon his canoe, it was soon

39: Cerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 the strong sails made from woven pandanus leaf
396 mats allowed the double canoes to be propelled at
[349] incredible speeds. For protection from the weather
when not in use, or when being repaired between
[348] trips, the grandiose double canoes of Tonga were
501 pulled ashore into large canoe huts.A Shorter,
inter-island trips were made in outrigger canoes,
● 484 *popao,* which are the only one of the original vessels
[178] to have remained up to the present day. However,
with the introduction of modern boats, the *popao*
have been somewhat modified in style and are used
today mainly in the outer islands of Tonga only for
fishing or traveling short distances.

[p. 5-B]

A [See category 343, p. 4--Analyst]

361 621 At the time of the census of 1956, however, there were 147 households, and Motulahi was then one of only three villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand. This growth is remarkable, notwithstanding the overall growth of Tonga's population during the same period and the general movement to Tongatapu, for these are but a fraction of the rate of increase in Motulahi.

622 621 The growth of Motulahi's population can be accounted
for in large part by reference to the policies and
practices of Sione Fatu, who was Haveatungua from 1916 to
1962. Sione Fatu succeeded his father at about the age of
[597] sixteen. His three younger brothers were adopted by his
[484] father's sister and lived with her in Vava'u and Nuku'alofa,
but Sione Fatu was sent abroad to be educated at a grammar
[605] school in Australia. During that period and for some years
after that he was represented in Motulahi by Finau, who was
the son of one of his father's sisters. (It was Finau who
gave Pulotu permission to settle in Motulahi in 1919). It
is not clear for how long Finau was in charge of Motulahi
nor the nature and extent of his authority. Some informants
speak more of the power of the petty chief Paluvalevale.
It is said that Faluvalevale gave some people permission to
farm on his land until they were granted land of their own,
whereas Finau acted only as an agent for the noble.

While it was not until the early 1940s that Sione

592 484 574 [602] Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence". They may speak of people as being not merely visiting--they would say this of a young relative from another island who has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or family group is visiting for only a short time. Some people, and particularly young adults, come visiting *'eva pē* ('just going about'--a term also applied to taking a short stroll with [584] [626] no overt destination). It is in the course of *'eva pē* visiting that many Tongans meet the person they marry, for outside the home village a young woman has more freedom and a young man more license to pursue a courtship. In other cases, people may come visiting because they have some matter to attend to in Motulahi or elsewhere on Tongatapu. They might have come to be in attendance at a birth, for example, or to attend a funeral, or to accompany children to Tongatapu at the start of the school year, or to bring items for sale.

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holds in cases where more than one household occupies the same town allotment, or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one allotment. Even so, there are occasional cases where household membership is not clear. (See the case of Matiu, described later in the chapter.)

592 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore
596 serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Pinau, the
mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see
Figure 2). Pinau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother
from another village on Tongatapu, and Pinau was born in
[591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went
to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami,
[768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she
moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her
widowed father's household. She never remarried and,
after her father died, she became sole head of that house-
[591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife
into what was then Pinau's household. His wife, 'Ana,
[484] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu
[873] in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother
could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi,
where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there
ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age
from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in
Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children,
Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time.
[591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in
Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527
648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only
[484] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

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[591] [182] [612] [602] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the kinship system.

527 to Tongatapu accompanying their prestations. For many of
648 the visitors, the kātoanga provided the occasion for
484 visiting Tongatapu and re-activating relationships with kin
from different parts of the country. One month after the
Royal Visit there were still some visitors in Motulahi who
told me that they had come "for the kātoanga".

527 Less than two weeks after the Royal Visit, prepara-
648 tions were under way for another kātoanga. This one was to
take place over a four-day period in June 1970, marking the
attainment of fully-independent status for Tonga and
527 cocurrent entry into the British Commonwealth. Although
it is not usual for kātoanga to follow one another as
swiftly as this, these national events generally occur at
least once a year, with the occasion varying from one year
175 to the next.[11] Kātoanga are not merely a modern phenomenon.
527 In pre-modern times there were celebrations associated with
651 the annual 'Inasi ceremony, the Presentation of the First
Fruits to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. The following is an

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[11] In 1969, the occasion was the celebration of the twenty-first birthday of the Crown Prince; in 1968 it was the celebration of the fiftieth birthday ("the jubilee") of His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV; in 1967 the occasion was His Majesty's Coronation; and in 1966 it was the celebration of the centenary of secondary education in Tonga. In 1965 there was no kātoanga, as Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou III was gravely ill. However, the activities associated with her funeral in December 1965 were the occasion for rituals involving many thousands of people.

In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to
634 unmoor in order to leave the island Feenough and his prime Minister
[404 Tapah came along side in a sailing Canoe and informed me they
were going to *Vaugh waugh* an island which lies about Two days sail
[438 to the north ward of Happi, to get some red feathered caps for me
[439 and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem.[1] Feenough said he should be back in four or five days and desired I would not sail till his return when he would accompany me to Tongatabu. I thought this a good oppertunity to get some knowledge of Vaughwaugh and proposed to him to go thither with the Ships, but he seemed not to approve of this and by way of deverting me from it, told me there was niether harbour nor anchorage about it, I therefore consented to wait his return where I was and he immidiately set out.[2]

648 SATURDAY 24*th*. The next day our attention was for some time taken up with a report the Indians industerously spread about that a Ship like one of ours was at anchor in the Road of Anamocka. What helped to give some credit to this report was Toobow the Chief of that island hastening thither to receive these new comers as the propagators of the report were pleased to tell us, and as we knew he had but just left us we were the more ready to believe it. However to gain some further information, I went a shore with Omai to look for the man who brought the first account of it from Anamocka; we found him at the Cheifs house, where Omai put such questions to him as I thought necessary and the answers he gave were so clear and satisfactory that I had not a doubt of the truth. But just about this time a Cheif of some note and one whom we knew arrived from Anamocka and declared that no ship was nor had been there sence we left it. The man who propagated the contrary report sliped out of the way so that we saw him no more. Thus the whole appeared to be a story artfully invented to answer some end or other, but what is not easy to conjecture, unless it was to get us removed from the one island to the other.[3]

[648 Conception, & had any man of less Humanity than the Captns Cook & Clerke Com-
[685 manded, many of these people must have lost their life, from the daring attempts they were hourly making on us.'—Martin, 23 May.

[634 [1] The island was Vava'u, about 60 miles NNE of Ha'ano, and the centre of Finau's power. 'Finow's business thither was to procure red feathers, which were become a valuable article of traffic; our people giving any price for them, on a suposition that they will turn to good account when we arrive at Otaheite.'—Burney, 23 May.

[2] Finau was here guilty of a thundering lie, for Vava'u has in the deep, winding, and beautiful inlet of Neiafu what is in some respects the best harbour of the group. True, Cook would not have found the holding ground very good, but it is a pity he did not see the place. Most chiefs, it may be noted, were only too anxious to add to their importance by getting Cook to their own islands.

[3] This suggested reason may very likely have been the true one. Cook had previous experience of such a story at Raiatea in June 1774 (II, p. 427), when Banks and Furneaux

501 upper side, which is a little curv'd, fix'd to a yard near three times as
long as the mast. This hoists up to the top of the mast, making the
sail incline obliquely upwards & backwards, with the lower point in
an opposite direction projecting considerably before the mast. The
base is the upper part of the sail, & the long side of the triangle the
after & lower part: it is made of mat, sometimes a kind of streamer
502 flying from the after angle. In working to windward they shift the
sail to the opposite side in tacking, which is done very quickly from
the great command two very large paddles which they steer with
have over them. In these cases the little time they lose and the fast
rate of the Boats sailing makes them gain very quickly, for in a
gentle breeze which would set our ship about three knots it has been
found they went seven, and before the wind with smooth water & a
fresh breeze it may easily be conceivd they must go more than double
501 that. They carry from forty to fifty people, and some sixty or seventy.
The size of one of the largest as measurd was twenty five paces, the
extreme breadth (of one boat) about three feet, and the depth including
the rais'd plank five and a half: the length of the stage was
eleven paces and the breadth near six. The sail of a smaller one
measur'd seventeen paces on the longest side, the upper or base of the
triangle twelve, and the yard to which the other side is fix'd nineteen.
They are built of much larger planks than the small ones and
seemingly with as few as they can, but notwithstanding their care in
joining them they are so liable to leak that they are oblig'd to be
484 frequently bal'd out. There are a few of the single kind that have such
648 a sail as this, with a large heavy outrigger which supplys the place of
another boat to ballance it,[1] but their distant Navigations are per-
[501] formd in the others. How far that extends is not very certain, but it
[177] is probable they have some knowledge of Cocos and Traitors island[2]
which is five degrees to the Northward, or at least have communica-
tion with others who frequent that place, from a circumstance they
say happen'd not many years ago of a ship larger than ours visiting
these places, from whence they had their knowledge of iron renew'd
(as they must have had some from Tasman) and was probably the
Dolphin, who in her second voyage fell in with them, and were call'd
484 Keppel and Boscawens Islands by Captn Wallace. However that may
502 be it is certain there are islands within their own knowledge which
take them three, four or five days sail to which they are directed by
821 the fix'd stars, many of which they have names for and some bear the
names of the islands they direct to, but when it is dark in the night or

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[1] This type of canoe was called the *hamatafua*.
[2] Niuatoputapu and Tafahi.

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. 484
As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at [502]
some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, [821]
matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of [252]
hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage.
The number of people, amongst which are always several women,
being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat 505
implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of 461
each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a
perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle 533
from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to
their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or 412
rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but
some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks 321
tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid 237
over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a
handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent 396
with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical
production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, 348
for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which
reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which
are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that
cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves
after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except 412
different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that
require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles [237]
being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The
Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though 283
not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a 824
quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which
the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and
twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1] 226
and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it [283]
almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large
and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd
on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, [321]
but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both
commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others [391]

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[1] Tou, not the *Melochia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were 175
likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew
great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike 609
very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid
it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to 175
the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing 609
Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intoler- 542
ably; this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to
us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a 526
most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought [152]
with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which
they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this
Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most
miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition,
that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon
any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to
knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went
thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations
it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd
have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose 175
Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agi-
lahi, or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to 643
corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and atten- 634
tion by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent
upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one [431]
days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an ex- [484]
peditious return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd very extraordinary, but Capt Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had 175
promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka,
where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of 114
various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the
Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but
others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of
future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the 175
first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage
of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and 634

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[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above.

[2] Vava'u.

643

651 Tonga in approximately June, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now
178 opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the
643 *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony which took place in approximately the September-November
643 period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to
644 the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly
646 agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over
543 (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly
agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in
643 approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows.
644 However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture
646 shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place
484 on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point
543 for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the
276 Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for
the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function
574 as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the
[186] agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the
contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the
543 entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are
484 complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for
643 redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops,
traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden
[526] pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals
(and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing,
foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under
178 the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under
651 the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

543 The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious
543 observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amusement
[651] and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture
shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and
[537] the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the
543 shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and
643 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances
276 are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa*
574 *kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at
[186] the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging
to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the
[644] *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava*
and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

The growing contact with Fiji had quite a significant impact on 175
the new developments in Tonga. The Tongans highly prized a
variety of products which were either not available in their home 177
islands or which were superior to anything of a similar kind which 175
they had at home, such as spears, bowls, huge double canoes, 177
pottery, sandalwood and the scarlet feathers of the Fijian parrots.
So coveted were these articles that, in spite of the difficulties of 439
sailing to Fiji, the voyages gradually became regular (Thomson
1894:320). Seemann (1862:240-1) wrote: 175
177

> Up to this period the Tonganese had been peaceful traders . . . 484
> Gradually they adopted a different line of policy. Being men of
> athletic frames, of courage and daring, they were often asked to [439]
> assist in the feuds in which chiefs friendly to them engaged, receiving
> canoes and other property in return for their services. From being
> mere mercenaries, they gradually began to act on their own responsibility,
> readily avenging every outrage from time to time committed
> against any of their countrymen on the smaller islands of the eastern
> group. . . .

Such exploits became extremely popular among young chiefs in
Tonga who were thirsty for excitement and renown. They only had [554]
to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place themselves in the
way of gaining honour and fame enough to satisfy the most
ambitious, for in Fiji 'there were alarums and excursions in plenty,
war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts,
and freedom from the restraint of their elders' (Derrick 1963:122).

From these experiences, the young chiefs brought back to Tonga 175
not only goods but also some cruel and revolting habits which were
regarded by some of their fellow chiefs at home with great 177
admiration. A list of these barbarities preserved in the old traditions
were recorded by Thomson (1894:320):

> The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen.

175 Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions,
as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly
484 by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an
[868] integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid
[565] increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during
the eighteenth century.

This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in
175 Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate
177 to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism
[266] and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and
[768] more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji
fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery,
[721] murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When
Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although
175 he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful.
721 On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main
114 island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely
unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to
assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by
a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry
out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear,
175 particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu,
669 Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the
unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied
634 by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea,
who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and
by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after
staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions
and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself
Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at
Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the
late Queen Sālote).

175 Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu.
One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to
643 the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi,
Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position.
However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

vacate the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupoumoheofo, a 175
daughter of Tupoulahi, a very ambitious and strongwilled woman, 643
decided to make herself Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1793.[9]

This action was unprecedented, for although women were [562]
superior to men in rank, no woman had ever before become head of any of the major socio-political units in the country, let alone succeeded to any of the three principal positions. Her extraordinary action could be explained by her unwillingness to see the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu go to her uncle, Mumui, and his descendants, for Mumui had a different mother from that of Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki, a woman of lower rank. For this reason Tupoumoheofo resented Mumui or his sons taking precedence, and while she had not objected to the succession of Maealiuaki or his son, Mulikiha'amea, to the Tu'i Kanokupolu position, she was prepared to take this drastic step.

One of Mumui's sons, Tuku'aho, was infuriated by her action. He came from 'Eua where he was living, drove Tupoumoheofo to Vava'u and deposed her. He made Mumui, his aged father, Tu'i Kanokupolu, while he himself retained the real power. Describing Tuku'aho, Captain Wilson of the *Duff* wrote (1799: 103):

> He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age; is of a sullen, morose countenance; speaks very little, but when angry, bellows forth with a voice like the roaring of a lion.

In his youth he had led other young Tongan chiefs and they had [484]
indulged themselves in a warring expedition to Fiji, returning with [177]
exciting tales of their victories.

Gradually Tuku'aho tried to exert his power throughout the whole of Tonga, and when he eventually succeeded his father as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1797, he ruled with harshness, cruelty and terror. William Mariner, a young ship's clerk adopted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala, said:

[9] Tupoumoheofo was the principal wife of Pau, the Tu'i Tonga who met Cook in 1777. Pau left Tongatapu to reside in Vava'u because, according to tradition, he was upset by Tupoumoheofo's insistence on conferring all the regalia of the office of Tu'i Tonga on her son and heir, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, while he was still alive (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). Pau died in Vava'u in 1734.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

[1927- 1934]

Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, 795
under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. 873
The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest 872
school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from 658
any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to
the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller
Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 873
Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the 484
present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December
1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, 658
recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future
teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical
education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions,
with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College
lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and 795
following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely [835]
limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money
could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily 795
took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did 465
even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A [793]
widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote [562]
College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a [875]
considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided [797]
to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church,
but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the
indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding
Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who
bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 795
pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries 872
very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and
over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had 877
always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting 651
of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because 793
of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were 874
accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number
and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to
gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

• • • •

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through 795
the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the
early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question 291
of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years. 793

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His 644
brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in [178]
agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great
rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of 643
Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to 484
the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds.
When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the
smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her
geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day
when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood
of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the
tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode,
waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from
her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper
said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely
and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching
of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth 648
and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the 643
year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The
Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to
drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the
whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended
the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people
inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with
the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang [794]
the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which [533]
Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party
after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion
has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes
a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. 161
Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped
with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked 163
decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the [165]
Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate,
however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% 161
in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000
in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966.
It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and [433]
this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the
inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population [162]
is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of
Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated [659]
by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the [842]
average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six
children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years [162]
ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

[1935 - 1964]
Chapter XIX.

TONGAN SAINTS AND LEADERS

More important than overseas ministers and teachers have been the Tongan leaders of the Free Wesleyan Church. Their influence upon the people depended, in the final analysis, upon the quality of their lives, and the term "saints" can be worthily applied to some of them. 79

Among the leaders in this century Queen Salote was undoubtedly outstanding — and not only because of her rank. Her influence was derived from her Christian integrity and her conspicuous personal talents. She seemed to inherit the commanding presence and the eloquence of Tupou I. Oratory is highly esteemed in Tonga. The Queen's clear and challenging voice, with a direct and logical approach to her topics, religious or national, always held her hearers' attention. This effect was evident both in large assemblies and in the small devotional meetings which she regularly conducted. As a poet also she was conspicuous. Her poems were set to melodies of her own composition and were used in descriptive dances at festivals. Her written and spoken English was perfect. Sir Harry Luke (High Commissioner, 1938-42) said of her dispatches, "She writes in a clear unaffected style with a simplicity of phrasing and pleasantly old-fashioned flavour faintly reminiscent of John Bunyan".(1) 643 795 643 537 643 [538] [535] [191]

Before her visit to Britain in 1953 brought her world-fame the Queen had attracted interest in places closer to Tonga. In 1935 she visited Sydney for medical treatment; upon her recovery from an operation the Church held a reception for her in Sydney Town Hall from which hundreds of expectant guests were turned away. Auckland, which she frequently visited, was regarded by her and the people of that city as her second home. 643 484

The Queen's sorrows were many. She often said that these drew her closer to God and increased her sympathies with others. The loss of her husband was a great deprivation. Before then she had lost her second son, William Tuku'aho, who died on 28 April 1938, at the age of sixteen, from the effects of a rheumatic heart. She was a mother indeed to her people, knowing them intimately and being concerned with their personal problems. In no part of the nation's life was her influence greater than in the promotion of the welfare of women. In 1933 she founded an organization for the improvement of living conditions in the villages and the encouragement of handicrafts. Miss Rowlands, Principal of Queen Salote College, her personal friend, gave her support in these enterprises. The Queen organized the first international assembly held in Tonga, the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association Conference, which met at Nuku'alofa in August 1964. 643 643 562

Through all the changing years the Queen bore witness to the reality of her personal faith. She was an able expositor of the Scriptures on both formal and informal occasions. Her solicitude for the well-being of the Church was revealed 643 795

457 not know enough of their own culture and history (or at least the aspects
654 of touristic interest), so the TVB published a pamphlet for local distribu-
tion to remedy this particular complaint. The government has also built
small airstrips to encourage tourist travel to outlying islands and has
allocated substantial sums of money for hotel expansion and construction.
457 With the help of overseas (primarily Australian) backing, new hotels have
648 been recently constructed on Tongatapu and Vava'u. Japanese compa-
nies have also expressed an interest in joint investment with the Tongan
654 government, in facilities that would serve the public and *especially* entice
177 the now almost nonexistent Japanese traveler to Tonga. With Japan in
mind, the Tongan monarch traveled to Japan, exchange clubs have been
[643] established. Tongans have been encouraged to visit Japan. Late in 1976
[484] the Japan/Tonga Friendship Fellowship opened a US$35,000 resort club-
house in Tonga, in an effort to develop growing contacts and increase
guests to Tonga. His Majesty also visited Hawaii in late 1976 to assess the
role of tourism, as well as the role of Tongans in tourism at the Polynesian
Cultural Center (see chapter 14).

Tourism, however, increases the economic problems—especially the
457 need for additional imported foodstuffs. Air passengers, for whom
439 facilities are largely being constructed, have to be fed, and although many
262 enjoy the local fruits and bread (made from the imported flour), few
would be content for long on the relatively bland Tongan diet of yams,
taro, and fruit. Tongans are, in effect, competing with the tourists for the
[435] imported foods. The ever-increasing quantities of food that must be
imported to feed the growing number of tourists contributes to the
[191] steadily rising CPI. A similar situation prevails in Fiji, as Ward (1976, p.
171) notes:

> Some [Fiji] hotels, in the interest of greater economy and convenience, only provide a strictly limited choice of meals and the sort of meals which tourists expect to receive in their home countries, e.g. of the steak-hamburger-mixed grill variety. Many hotels argue that this is all the tourist wants although the best hotels do provide more extensive menus. The majority [of hotels, however] do provide the food which is produced and consumed by the local inhabitants and this compounds the problem of buying requirements from domestic producers.

Ward also states that despite the availability of many local foodstuffs tourists might consume, hotels in Fiji prefer to purchase their requirements overseas because, it has been argued, "they can only then be assured of continuity in supplies and of a consistent high standard of quality."

457 Tourism has grown rapidly in Tonga, but it could evaporate just as quickly. Tongans occasionally have experienced situations when the anticipated tourists failed to arrive. In 1972, at least forty tour groups cancelled their planned air visits to Tongatapu because the tour operators

could not be assured of making airline connections from the Kingdom to other points on the itinerary. 457

Because of mounting fuel and labor costs, long-haul cruises such as those that stop at Tonga are not as profitable as the short-haul, fast turnaround cruises that operate weekly or biweekly in the Caribbean (Waters and Patterson 1976). As a result, in the foreseeable future cruises stopping at Tonga might decrease as much as 50 percent in a single year, with a projected annual loss of revenue of US$600,000. This would seriously affect the handicraft manufacturers and other businessmen in the Kingdom. Losses of anticipated revenue generated through tourism should serve to reinforce the potential disaster for Tongans if their economy is tied too closely to tourism.

It must also be noted that while short-term cruise passengers consume little of the imported foodstuffs, the airline guests (whose stay ranges from five to eleven days) must be fed for the duration of their visit. The host/guest competition for food and natural resources will further contribute to the upward inflationary curve. [458]

What Price Tourism?

Tongans are increasingly becoming the victims of their own tourism. They are exceedingly happy when cruise ships dock with a thousand passengers (and several hundred crew members), and pump thousands of dollars into the economy in an eight-hour period, but Tongans are even happier at dusk when the ships depart. The physical impact of a thousand tourists on one town situated on a relatively tiny island is tremendous, especially when most of the tourists are bussed around to "see" all the sights of the island. The tourist literature has brought the visitors here "to observe the traditional Tongan way of life in the *natives' own habitat*" and the shore excursions promise that you will "see the daily work routine of men and women—gardening, weaving baskets, cooking, washing and their many other activities. This village walking tour offers you an excellent opportunity to photograph the Tongan people as they really are" (Itinerary for the International Institute, 24 June 1974). Tongans cannot tolerate being regarded as members of a "cultural zoo" and are not "on display" for wealthy visitors. Under these circumstances, there are exceedingly few opportunities for a true host/guest relationship to develop. 457 177

Tourists have usually heard something about Tonga long before they arrive. Many guests remember the late Queen of Tonga's memorable ride in an open carriage during a rainfall when Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III attended the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in London in 1953. Tourists, therefore, already "know" something about [643] [484]

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

184 are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting,
population density, and a number of social, political, and economic
factors. Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that there
162 is a very large number of people in the village. According to the census
361 of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1122, making it one of only
621 eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than
one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga
had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all
these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages.

125 Before proceeding to examine the population of Motulahi, something
should be said about the difficulty of making a statement about who
the people of any village in Tonga *are*. My household survey was conducted intermittently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing
484 at intervals until about the middle of May. By the end of that period,
166 some of the people who were enumerated earlier in the survey were no
longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some
other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had
121 already surveyed the household in which they lived. Demographers
commonly deal with these fluctuations by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution of the problem of ethnographic description (Carroll 1975a, Colson 1967). My lack of concern at that time for the demographic significance of the data I was collecting is revealed by the fact that I did not take the simple step of making an enumeration of the population present on one day. Instead, what I did was try to keep track of the people whose existence I was aware of, noting changes in household composition and migration in and out of the village. It was in considering how to deal with these data that I came to realize that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of proper description of local organization in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1975). Again, since I gave no thought to the compilation of statistics on migration, I made no effort to ascertain exactly when these residential changes took place. What I wanted to determine was the reasons and circumstances that caused people to make their moves.

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
[825] wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
181 kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality
178 toward human beings, (27) seems to have changed (28) to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural
people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their
forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to
be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who
[484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
[502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
[226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
[648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
[701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as
well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the
last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons)
prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has
preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and
colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan
[823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
[241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on
neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied
islands of the Archipelago. (29)

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27. For example, Martin, loc, cit. I, pp. 84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

[797] 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong missionary influence and the corresponding government authority inspired by it.

/24 cont./

181
[133) 29. Even the fertile island of "Eua which is
the only Tongan island with running water
and lies close to Tongatapu has had an
astonishingly sparse population until recent
[484) times. In part the reason is said to be the
often difficult crossing between Tongatapu
and "eua because of the frequent strong surf,
people shrink from such discomforts..

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives
181 476 of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it.
461 In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the
571 women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men
carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.
181 In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious
178 impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual
177 settlements united into villages, (31)
361

31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

181 The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called
461 lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings,
by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

/141 cont./

342 For a long time the "district officer" /cited in English/
177 living on Nomuka has wanted to move out of the house of his parents-
178 in-law and build his own house on a property he owns in the village.
463 He talks over his plan with Vilingia, the (approximately 45-year-old)
331 house-building specialist on Nomuka, who has been trained in Fiji
as a carpenter. They decide to build a house with ancient Tongan
ground plan but with "improved beaming," wooden walls with a cement
base, windows and doors and a corrugated sheet metal roof. Vilingia
draws a construction plan in an exercise book. The district officer
(439) buys four metal drums of cement, Canadian building timber, corrugated
sheet metal and nails, flour, fat and sugar in Nuku'alofa and has the
supplies brought to Nomuka in cutters. Six men from Nomuka sail to
(484) the uninhabited island of Tonumea, a half-day's journey distant, there
(313) chop down 12 breadfruit trees, cut them up as beams and take them
(283) home. Coconut-fiber cord is also made in sufficient quantities. After
all the material has lain ready for several weeks, the district
officer decides to start the building. Shortly before the date fixed,
(251) a group of natives sail to the neighboring island of Nomuka Iki,
there shoot one of the half-wild cows of the "boss," cut it up properly
and, in Nomuka, salt down the meat in wooden tubs, under the supervision
of an aged Tongan.

342 On the day the building is to commence, some 20 men from the
476 village (young and old in approximately the same number) assemble early
313 in the morning at the previous dwelling of the "boss," and, after a
331 breakfast of fried cakes /cited in English/ (Tonga: keke) and
orange-leaf tea, they repair to the plantations, led by the carpenter
Vilingia, where, because of the exalted position of the "boss," they
take the liberty of selecting and cutting down the coconut palms
needed for the rafters, without asking permission from their respective

/229 cont./ These wagons are not
398 made in the Archipelago, but some Tongans, even on the small islands, know how to repair them and how to make individual wagon parts (for example, wheels) from remnants of broken carts with the use of Tongan and European raw materials.

493 In recent years the becycle has become somewhat widespread on
494 the islands of the Archipelago. Some natives (especially younger ones) already own bicycles that they bought in the chief towns. However, except on the main islands, where the bicycle is very serviceable on account of the greater distances and the paved streets, it does not seem to be an entirely adequate method of transportation. Though some Tongans already use the bicycle on the small islands (some of them to go to their plantations), there is very often no actual need for it, since many roads and paths are very poorly passable by bicycle; here it is more a symbol of economic prosperity and a toy.

484 On the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u there is scarcely
(481) a native who takes the trouble to travel on foot the sometimes long distances from the villages to the chief towns of Nuku'alofa and
484 Neiafu. Some ride their bicycles, but the majority of Tonga men and
494 women let themselves be transported by trucks belonging to the govern-
493 ment, the Copra Board, white traders and Tongan drivers. In 1951 there were 151 trucks in the Archipelago, (599) most of which operated on Tongatapu (mostly with Tongan drivers); some of them operated on Vava'u and three on /230/ Lifuka. On the main island there are also a couple of superannuated buses still in existance. The taxis, of which there are a few on Tongatapu (Nuku'alofa) (with Tongan drivers), are used not only by whites, but frequently also by natives themselves for trips and for transport

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599. See Colonial Office, Report on the Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. /cited in English/ p. 23.

/230 cont./

484
494 of all kinds (even for carrying pigs). In 1951 there was a total of
493 80 private cars in the Archipelago (600)

600. Ibid. p.23.

almost all of which drove on Tongatapu; some were owned by whites living there. Moreover, in the same year, 16 motorcycles (601)

601. Ibid. p. 23.

were registered in the Archipelago.

491 The old Tongan roads were, of course, not equal to traffic by such vehicles. From the sources we can scarcely tell whether the former "roads" were in any way paved or were simply surfaced with hard-pounded clay. While the small islands are today still criss-crossed by the traditional unpaved and, in the rainy season, very soggy roads and paths, some of which go back to the distant past, others to the beginning of the settlements, the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u have a few good highways, fully adequate for truck traffic year round, surfaced with coral stone or even asphalt; these were built by Tongans under the supervision of Whites. In 1951 there were about 60 miles of such roads on Tongatapu and 18 miles on Vava'u. (602)

602. Colonial Office, Report 1950/51. p. 23.

484
501 As for sea traffic, the most important change in comparison with
the past is the complete stop of long trips to other archipelagos
501 with catamarans. It has been a very long time since those so
177 "carefully and skillfully built" (603)
484

603. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 287.

catamarans (604)

604. In the second half of the 18th century, the Tongans gave up their catamaran-type known as "tungiakia" in favor of the Fijian "ndrua"-catamaran, which they felt was superior, and which they copied masterfully and called

/230 cont./

501 177 484 "kalia" (see Th. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians /cited in English/. Third ed... London 1870. p. 64; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 121). A description of "kalia," for example in Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English./ pp. 49/50.

which in construction and speed once aroused the admiration of the great European seafarers, and with which the natives set out for distant destinations, such as Samoa, Fiji, Niue, Futuna, Uvea, Totuma and even some of the Ellice and Gilbert Islands. (605)

605. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 14/15, 205.

505 The Tongans who wish to travel to Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand or Australia for visits or for educational purposes use the New Zealand steamer which makes an approximately monthly round trip: Auckland--/231/ Suva--Nuku'alofa--Neiafu--Apia--Suva--Auckland. (606)

606. With occasional stops at Niue. The old hopes that Tonga would become a point of intersection of trans-Pacific routes were not fulfilled because of the development of the Fiji colony. Thus the Archipelago still lies at the edge of world traffic. Except for the "monthly steamer" from New Zealand, freighters only occasionally stop at Nuku'alofa or Vava'u to deliver goods or take on copra. An airfield built a few years ago on Tongatapu provided passenger service only from January 1, 1950 to July 2, 1951; then the New Zealand company discontinued this line's service which was apparently uprofitable. However, there are plans for a resumption and expansion of air connections (with Fiji, New Zealand and West Samoa). [508]

For journeys from Tongatapu and Vava'u the natives like to use the monthly steamer. For the rest, traffic within the Archipelago is served by the auxiliary ketch "Hifofua" of the government, the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu" of the Copra Board, (607) [501]

505
502
181
/231 cont./ The Tongans (609)

609. That is to say, the crews of these boats, who devote themselves primarily to seafaring and often have little to do with the boat's construction.

are still very capable seamen. Even though they no longer have the old, admirable ability to take their bearings from the stars, the wind and the waves, but use the compass on all sailboats, they are still endowed with a sure, instinctive feeling for finding their way on the sea, since their old compasses, which are scarcely ever adjusted /232/ often have such variations that their usefulness is
505 questionable. No Tongan on these boats owns a sextant or a log to
502 determine position and distances covered, and sea charts are rare. Nonetheless, the boats daily operating within the Archipelago reach their destination, and it seldom happens that such a sailboat is driven off course or is lost.

505 Here follows a report on a typical journey of this sort within
484 the Archipelago:

On December 2, 1951 the sailboat "Leiola" coming from the island of Mango arrives in Nomuka where seven passengers with their luggage go on board. The "Leiola" leaves Nomuka around 17 o'clock and shortly thereafter drops anchor at Nomuka Iki where freight for Crown Prince Tungi is taken on board: a quantity of kape and taro, a pig, a goat and ten bags of copra. With this load, along with the seven passengers and the five-man crew the approximately nine-ton boat is so overloaded that it has scarcely two handspans of freeboard. It sets out for Tongatapu which is about 60 sea miles distant. During the first hour, hymns are sung and a prayer is said. In the foreship, as on most of these boats, there stands an old drum serving as stove where bananas and taro are cooked. With this meal drinking water is handed out from a can specially carried for this purpose. Then the

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)

> 484 610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and
> (554) older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the
course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the
Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then
get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
[302] their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around
[515] eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the
passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been
unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

> 611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather
large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that
are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

178 pattern. Villages, resembling the modern concept of population
361 grouping, replaced the fortified structures, often being constructed
on the original fortress site (i.e., Feletoa and Neiafu).

423 It was during this post-civil war period that the present
[241] agricultural system, based upon land tenure, was initiated. Under
a decree issued by Tupou I, farmland was divided into allotments
of approximately eight and one-quarter acres, or 100 fathoms square.
This 'api tukuhau, or rural allocation system, was available to all
males over 16 years of age. In addition, the 'api kola, or urban
allocation system, provided each family with two-fifths of an acre
within a village, for housing. An alternative to the above permitted an individual to waive his rural and urban allotments, in
exchange for a larger rural allotment of 12 3/8 acres.

361 The bonds of communal living insured the survival of this
nuclear village pattern, despite the fact that some individuals
[484] resided a substantial distance from their farm holdings. Within
modern Tonga, this pattern still exists as a strongly bound unit,
even though this often necessitates as much as 20 miles of travel
from village to farm acreage (Kennedy 1958, p. 165).

Twentieth Century Population Settlement

361
162 The population of twentieth century Tonga can be divided
into three groups, by pattern of settlement: (1) villages,
(2) towns, and (3) miscellaneous groupings, such as school and
church facilities.

621 Although the village concept is relatively new to Tongan
culture, it serves today as the center of most social and economic

241 factor in Tongan society reduces the incentive for increased
241 production. Individuals who manage to significantly increase their
571 production of crops or agricultural profits are under social pres-
426 sure to supply loans and miscellaneous obligations to close relatives and friends. This practice severely reduces the independence of the farmer. Several informants stated that they would not increase crop production because neighbors and relatives subse-
426 quently "borrow" all extra produce. Although lending is a tradition
556 which increases the social status of the lender, resentment toward
178 this social obligation is increasingly expressed among younger landholders, who place higher esteem on cash than tradition.

241 At present, the typical farmer appears to work his 'api an
461 average of 18 to 20 hours per week. The remaining time is occupied
[125] by a variety of additional activities. Although statistical evidence of the duration of each activity was not collected, three activities
241 appeared to be dominant. Owing to the distribution of population
461 and the subsequent pattern of settlement, a farmer often spends
484 several hours per day traveling to and from his 'api. Travel extremes from zero to 21 miles were reported by interviewees. Occasionally, informants reported leasing land on nearby islands, which necessitated travel overland, as well as by boat. However, an average of 6.75 miles was determined to be the distance necessary
[494] for the typical farmer to travel to his 'api. Although the principal islands of the Kingdom have bus transportation, the busses average no more than 15 miles per hour, thereby consuming at least an hour of travel per day for the average farmer. Frequently, walking for

241 Frequently, walking for
461 another hour follows the bus ride. Transport of crops from the 'api
484 usually involves greater lengths of time as the common method con-
494 sists of a horse-drawn cart (Plate 9, p. 93). A ^
[481]

Fishing is a second significant activity conducted away from
226 the 'api, although of less concern within the interior of Tongatapu
[461] and along those shores with poor sources or access. In Vava'u and
[262] Ha'apai, fishing often consumes several hours per day, and supplies
[438] not only family food needs, but also enough for sale in local markets.

461 A third major activity concerns church and social functions within the local village or the nearest urban area. Many of these activities are concentrated during the weekends, such as marketing and major church functions. However, social activities during the week require participation of several hours per week.

In addition to the above, an entire range of miscellaneous labor must be considered, due to the low level of specialization of
461 labor in Tonga. Thus, to summarize, it is evident that potential
241 expansion of agricultural production in Tonga involves not only issues of land tenure and management, but also individual incentive, tradition and the amount of time devoted to agricultural activities.

During interviews conducted on all of the major Tongan islands, lack of land was most frequently denoted to be the major limitation upon agricultural expansion, while laziness of Tongan
241 farmers was the second most frequent response. The third most
412 frequent explanation concerned the lack of adequate agricultural tools and machinery. An examination of farm equipment, either owned or rented by the interviewees, indicated that most farmers possess

A ^ [Due to poor quality of original, plate has not been marked for a Category—Analyst.]